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# AN ALLEGED CHAMPION OF THE SPHERICITY OF THE EARTH IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY[1]

Last year I had the honor of addressing the American Catholic Historical Society on the question whether or not the sphericity of the earth was known during the earlier Middle Ages. This question must decidedly be answered in the affirmative.[2] During those several centuries there were men, foremost in the ranks of Christian authors, who well knew the shape of the earth, and as far as in them lay endeavored to spread this knowledge abroad. The works of these writers, in particular those of Cassiodorus, St. Isidore of Seville, and St. Bede the Venerable, enjoyed a wide popularity and influence. A book still more favored by those studiously inclined was the *City of God* by St. Augustine. Although not treating of the matter professedly, as do the three authors just mentioned, St. Augustine refers to the sphericity of the earth at some length. He makes it clear that he does not consider it as a theological subject, and that this scientific tenet cannot come into collision with any article of Faith. But it is different with the question of antipodes, that is, of men living on the other side of the earth. From his standpoint and at his time the great African doctor is perfectly correct in denying their actual existence. There was at his time no proof whatsoever for this assumption. Moreover he had a positive theological proof for denying it, which in his days was incontrovertible. The learned and unlearned were convinced that an

[1] Paper read at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Catholic Historical Association, Columbus, Dec. 26-29, 1923.

[2] See *Catholic Historical Review*, April 1923, pp. 74 ff.

impassable ocean surrounded the inhabited parts of the earth and made it physically impossible to reach any land on the other side. Hence people living there could not be descendants of Adam, an opinion which it is impossible to reconcile with the fundamental dogma of the unity of mankind, the universality of original sin, the general need of redemption and necessity of baptism. This was the only correct standpoint to take, both scientifically and theologically. Had St. Augustine seen the times of the great discoverers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, he would have given up his standpoint unhesitatingly, and that without sacrificing one whit of his scientific and theological principles.

With St. Bede the Venerable, who died in A.D. 735, we reach the first part of the eighth century. Now about the middle of that century there happened an incident which by countless writers is reported in the following manner: St. Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg, an Irishman, taught at the court of Otilo[3] Duke of Bavaria, that the earth is a globe, and that there are men living on the other side of it; thereupon St. Boniface reported him as a heretic to Pope St. Zachary, who first sided with St. Boniface his legate, but later on amicably composed the difference. The assertion occasionally met with that this Virgilius was among the first, if not the first, to teach the rotundity of the earth is obviously erroneous and needs no further consideration. But if we are told that two such prominent men as St. Zachary and St. Boniface should have looked upon the doctrine of the sphericity of the earth and the existence of antipodes as a heresy, the matter deserves a closer inspection. We want to see whether the doctrine proscribed by the pope and his apostolic legate was really the sphericity of the earth; and incidentally our investigations may disclose more about the personality of the man who propounded it. According to our custom, however, we shall take no notice of modern authors, but shall go directly to the sources from which all authors must have derived their information, if they are reliable at all.

The fact is, that there is only one source for whatever the authors have said and written, namely a passage in one of the let-

[3] This name is variously spelled, Odilo and Otilo. The scholarly *Kirchliche Handbuch*, printed at Munich in Bavaria in 1912, prefers Otilo.

ters addressed to St. Boniface by Pope St. Zachary. In the original Latin this passage counts about a hundred and fifty words. We know with certainty only what these one hundred and fifty words tell us, and no more. In English the passage runs thus:

"Thy brotherly holiness has also communicated to us, that a certain Virgilius, whether he is said to be a priest we do not know, is maligning thee, because thou hast shown him to be guilty of an error against the Catholic Faith, that he talks disparagingly about thee to Otilo the Duke of Bavaria, in order to cause enmity between thee and him, and this for the purpose of obtaining the diocese of a deceased bishop, one of the four thy fraternity established in that region (Bavaria); and that he even maintains to have received the appointment directly from ourselves. But this is by no means true; iniquity hath lied to itself.

But as to the perverse and iniquitous doctrine, which he uttered against God and his own soul: if he is found to hold that there is below the earth another world and other men or sun and moon; call a council, deprive him of the honor of the priesthood, and expel him from the Church. We ourselves, however, are writing to the aforesaid duke concerning the above-mentioned Virgilius, that he be presented to us, in order that, if after a close investigation he appears to be in error, he be condemned according to the canons of the Church."[4]

This is all we possess of historical sources referring directly to this controversy. Says Rohrbacher in his *Histoire Univer-*

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[4]Nam et hoc intimatum est a tua fraterna sanctitate, quod Virgilius ille, neseimus si dicatur presbyter, malignatur adversum te pro eo quod confundebatur a te erroneum se esse a catholica doctrina, immissiones faciens Otiloni duci Bajuvariorum, ut odium inter te et illum seminaret, aiens quod et a nobis esset absolutus unius defuncti ex quattuor illis episcopis, quos tua illic ordinavit fraternitas, diocesim obtinere. Quod nequaquam verum est, quia mentita est iniquitas sibi.

De perversa autem et iniqua doctrina, quam contra Deum et animam suam locutus est, si clarificatum fuerit ita eum confiteri, quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint seu sol et luna,hunc haito concilio ab ecclesia pelle, sacerdotii honore privatum. Adtamen et nos scribentes predicto duci evocatorias prenominato Virgilio mittimus literas, ut nobis presentatus et subtili indagatione requisitus, si erroneus fuerit inventus, canonicis a sanctionibus condemnetur. Qui enim seminat dolores ipsi metunt eos. MICHAEL TANGL: *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, 1916; Letter 80, pages 172-180. This passage is on pages 179, 180. The same letter is also found in Migne: Patres Latini, Vol. 89, pages 943 ff.—The remarks as to different readings, etc., made in the present article can be verified in TANGL.

*selle de l' église Catholique*, Vol. V, page 590: *Nous ne connaissons aucum autre monument ancien, dans lequel il en soit parle, aucun auteur du temps, qui en ait fait mention.* "We do not know of any other ancient document which speaks of it, of any author of the time who makes mention of it." We may therefore make no statement concerning the point in question, which is not warranted by those one hundred and fifty words.

This passage conveys to us the following facts:

(1) There was one, named Virgilius, who had a theological dispute with St. Boniface, and had been shown to hold an erroneous doctrine.

(2) After this defeat, and on account of it, the same Virgilius endeavored to prepossess Duke Otilo of Bavaria against St. Boniface, who up to this time, much to the advantage of the Church, had enjoyed the good will and friendship of that prince. Some nine years before the date of this letter St. Boniface, in the capacity of apostolic legate, and with the duke's hearty co-operation, had given a stable organization to the Bavarian Church, dividing it into four bishoprics.

(3) Virgilius aspired to one of those four bishoprics, which was now vacant, but saw himself rejected by St. Boniface. It was with the view of gaining his end over the head of the apostolic legate by the influence of the secular authority, that he began to sow enmity between the legate and the duke.

(4) Virgilius even went so far as to maintain that the pope himself had given him his appointment to the vacant see[5] an assertion which Pope St. Zachary emphatically brands as a lie.

(5) Virgilius' doctrine was, "that there is another world and other men below the earth or another sun and moon," which we shall discuss later on in detail.

(6) As one of the steps to be taken against Virgilius, St. Boniface is to call a provincial council, and to investigate the matter again. If the man persists in his opinion, solemn excommunication and expulsion from the Church will be the penalty. In case he poses as a priest or really is one, which the pope does

[5] This is indeed the meaning of the Latin phrase, *quod a nobis esset absolutus unius defuncti (episcopi)....diocesim obtinere.* See LANIGAN: *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, Vol. III, page 184, note 134. In fact several good manuscripts have instead of *a nobis absolutus* the words *quod et a nobis acciperet licentiam ut....obtineret.* See TANGL.

not know, he will at the same time be deprived of all sacerdotal honors.

(7) Pope St. Zachary, however, takes up the matter immediately. He writes to Duke Otilo requesting him to have Virgilius sent to Rome for an investigation at the papal court. It is not clear in what relation the two processes are to stand towards one another. Probably the second one is threatened only conditionally, namely, in case Virgilius should refuse to submit to the verdict of the German synod. Probably the people of the time understood the meaning of the pope's words better than we do. Besides Bishop St. Burchard, who had brought St. Boniface's letter to the pope and was to take the pope's reply back to Germany, could orally give a more detailed information.

This is all the positive information we can gather from this single and only passage.

Among the many things which these one hundred and fifty words do *not* disclose, and which we are unable to ascertain from any other sources, are in particular the following:

(1) We do not know whether that synod in Germany was ever held, and what steps were actually taken concerning Virgilius. Seeing, however, that St. Boniface made it a special point of his policy to carry out papal orders, it is safe to conclude that it was held, and that the injunctions given by St. Zachary were executed. The fact, known from Frankish and Bavarian history, that Duke Otilo died in 748, the same year in which the letter was written, may not have remained without effect upon the further development of the case. If indeed, as is not impossible, Virgilius to some extent enjoyed the duke's favor, the latter's death may have deprived him of an influential protector, and St. Boniface may have been at greater liberty to deal with him as the welfare of the Church demanded.

(2) The assertion, given as a matter of course by some authors, that Pope St. Zachary later on changed his attitude and amicably composed the difference between Virgilius and St. Boniface, is without the slightest foundation.

(3) We learn nothing of the nationality of Virgilius. He may have beeen a native Bavarian, or an Italian, or an Irishman, or a Frank, or an Anglo-Saxon—or a Chinese for that matter.

(4) By countless authors it is taken for granted, that this

Virgilius was identical with the Irish Saint Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg and Apostle of Carinthia, and with a third Virgilius, who together with Sidonius falsely reported St. Boniface to the pope for having ordered the repetition of the sacrament of baptism without sufficient reason. Our passage, the only one that can come into consideration, not only contains no proof for this assumption, but as we shall see offers a very strong argument for the contrary.

(5) This text does not allow us to charge either St. Boniface or Pope St. Zachary with having been ignorant of the sphericity of the earth, much less with having considered it an heretical tenet. We shall have to return to this feature, after speaking of the error itself.

## VIRGILIUS' TEACHING.

The doctrine of Virgilius, on account of which he had his clash with St. Boniface, and in which so many writers find a cause to extol him as a wonder of learning, is the very heart of the controversy. What did he really teach? The pope's words are:

"Concerning the perverse and iniquitous doctrine, which he has uttered against God and his own soul: if he is found to hold that there is below the earth another world and other men or sun and moon, call a council, etc."

Before examining these words we should remember that Pope St. Zachary had before him an official report of St. Boniface. This Saint had been working in Germany since 719 with wonderful success. Since 731 he had held the office of apostolic legate with power to watch over the purity of Faith and Morals, to establish bishoprics, and to convoke provincial councils; and the letters of three popes are full of praise for the zeal and prudence he had displayed. He was the man to know what he was writing about. In this particular case he did not base his statements upon information obtained from third persons however reliable, much less upon hearsay, but upon personal interviews he had with the man he denounced to the Holy See. Moreover, should anything have been less clear in his letter, there was the distinguished messenger who had brought it to Rome, Bishop St. Bur-

chard of Würzburg, who was well able to give all the additional information the Holy Father might desire. Now if the communications of ambassadors are always received with implicit credence, the pope in this case certainly was sufficiently acquainted with the actual teachings of Virgilius.

The phrase which naturally will strike us first as most incongruous is the assertion that there are below the earth another sun and moon.[6] What sort of an idea must Virgilius have had of the earth and the world below it, if he could make such a statement? That the sun and moon which shine on the opposite side of the earth are exactly the same as those which give light to us, is one of the most essential elements of the belief in the sphericity of the earth. One who denies the identity of sun and moon for both hemispheres cannot suppose that the earth is a globe. These two words give us a perfect right to deny that Virgilius had any inkling of the real shape of the earth. All we may possibly concede is that he perhaps had heard something of the rotundity of the earth but was unable to grasp its real meaning. The ease with which he duplicates sun and moon shows that he does not think much of the size of these luminaries, let alone other qualities. It is, however, evident, that had this astronomical or cosmographical error been Virgilius' only blunder, neither the pope nor St. Boniface would have thought of taking any notice of him and his dreams.

The principle point of his error, however, is the doctrine that "there is below the earth another world and other men," *quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint.* If this sentence is to express the fact that there are antipodes, the terms could not be worse chosen. The other side of the earth is not another world, but simply an extension of that part which we inhabit. If by "other men" were meant negroes or pigmies or giants, or the monsters which St. Augustine speaks of, the matter would not have been new or alarming for St. Boniface, nor for the pope. Such men were known or fabled about for centuries and had never caused any apprehension to Church authorities. But they

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[6] The genuinity of these words cannot be doubted. They are found in all the manuscripts of this letter, from the earliest times on, and one of the most reliable manuscripts even puts it more clearly by saying, "AND another sun and moon." See TANGL.

were not conceived as other men, except by their color or other accidental differences. By his other world and other men Virgilius can only have meant a completely different race, which had nothing in common with our own. If taken in this sense, and it is the only sense in which it can be taken, it accounts for the indignation in the words of St. Zachary and for the severe measures to be resorted to in the case of Virgilius.

Nor was such a doctrine too odd, too monstrous, for the time of St. Boniface. During almost his whole career he had to fight against heresies of this kind. The lands in which he worked were rife with errors concerning baptism. Bold innovators openly denied the necessity of the first of the sacraments. These errors were in the air in more or less dangerous forms. More than half of the very letter, from which our passage is taken, deals with exactly such abominable concoctions. The assertion that there is "another world and other men below the earth" fits very well into that chaos of rude superstitions and monstrous doctrinal aberrations which covered the mission field of St. Boniface.

There may appear for the superficial reader a certain similarity between this "other world and other men below the earth" and the antipodes as conceived by St. Augustine. But St. Augustine expressly rejects the fact of their existence, because for him descendants of Adam could not have gotten across that impassable ocean. If contrary to St. Augustine's denial Virgilius adopted such an idea, he had no reason to be surprised that St. Boniface and the pope acted as St. Augustine did, and condemned it as un-Christian. It is not too bold to conclude that Virgilius had not read any of the great Christian authors, who explicitly treat of the rotundity of the earth. Had he known them, he would have learned how to speak intelligently of the shape of the earth and the other parts of the world. Their attitude towards the antipodes would have rendered him wary and prevented him from trespassing upon Catholic dogma. Yet even without knowing them he would have noticed what a glaring error his words expressed, had he been better grounded in theology.

While it is difficult to advance any definite explanation of Virgilius' paradoxical system, if it deserves the name of a system, we may be permitted to point to the peculiar cosmography of

Cosmas Indicopleustes, a native of Alexandria, who lived in the sixth century.[7] Cosmas had travelled much, and he left a valuable description of the lands and cities and peoples of the eastern world. But he tried his hand also at cosmography and constructed a universe of quite a unique character. According to him the earth is flat; at one end there rises a huge conical mountain, around which the heavenly bodies revolve at different heights, thus producing days and nights of varying duration. If we suppose that Virgilius accepted this theory and, for reasons known to him alone, duplicated this world below the earth, perhaps in the opposite direction, we really have another world, other men, and another sun and moon. Whether this was really his idea we cannot tell. But the words of Pope St. Zachary much better fit upon such a paradoxical cosmography, than upon the theory of the sphericity of the earth.

### ST. BONIFACE AND POPE ST. ZACHARY.

But might not St. Boniface, after all, have misunderstood his antagonist? Indeed many of the authors who wrote on this subject take it for granted that he possessed no knowledge of the rotundity of the earth. But this supposition is entirely unwarranted. St. Boniface had been an ardent student all his life. The monastery of Nhutscelle, in which he spent the greatest part of his youth, was known for the excellency of its school and the scholarly attainments of its abbot and members. For some fifteen years before he set out for Germany he had enjoyed the renown of a very learned teacher, whose services were much in demand by the monastic schools of the neighborhood. He was a contemporary and personal acquaintance of the great St. Aldhelm, who had sat at the feet of Irish and Roman teachers, and who had been in close contact with the Greek Theodore, the sainted Archbishop of Canterbury. Astronomy is expressly mentioned as one of the branches of science which Aldhelm communicated to others. The time which St. Boniface spent in Anglo-Saxon England was a period of education and serious scholarly endeavors, the time when St. Bede the Venerable wrote

[7] See JOHN FISKE: *The Discovery of America.* Vol. I, pp. 265 ff.

his immortal works on all the branches of secular and sacred learning. Sixteen years before the Apostle of Germany left his native country, St. Bede had finished his treatise *De Rerum Natura*, in which the rotundity of the earth is stated in so many words. Besides it is highly improbable that so studious a reader as St. Boniface should not have known the most popular book of these centuries, the *City of God* of St. Augustine. There certainly was no intellectual narrowness in the circles in which he moved during the first forty years of his life. It would need very strong positive arguments to prove that he did not know the real shape of the earth. And if he did not actually know it, he was certainly advanced enough in the teachings of the Church to tell a geographical opinion from a theological issue.

Nor can we suppose that Pope St. Zachary misunderstood the case. St. Zachary, a Greek though born in Italy, was known for his learning and practical wisdom. It would not have been difficult for him to discover from St. Boniface's report and from the explanations given by Bishop St. Burchard, whether perhaps St. Boniface was scared by an unusual, but very harmless, assertion of Virgilius concerning some merely geographical or astronomical theory.

It is impossible, therefore, to have recourse to ignorance or misunderstanding on the part of either St. Boniface or of St. Zachary. Nothing remains but to take the pope's words as giving the main features of the opinion held by Virgilius. But a man that holds and preaches that there is another world and other men below the earth does not stand on Christian ground any longer. No wonder that St. Boniface saw fit to report him to the pope. Any bishop would be obliged to do the same, if similar views were propagated in his diocese. In the case of Virgilius the matter was the more urgent, as he probably by the favor of the Bavarian duke was enabled to spread this and perhaps other errors widely among the people of Germany who were just making their first steps in Christian and secular education.

Virgilius' case is hopeless. He cannot be named among the champions of science. It is impossible to say that he taught or even knew of the sphericity of the earth, while in theology his doctrine was clearly heretical. Only those can continue holding him up to admiration, who completely disregard the sources and

do not shrink from making assertions which they are utterly unable to substantiate.[8]

## VIRGILIUS THE MAN.

After seeing the nullity of Virgilius' claims to the glory of scholarship of any kind, we must briefly view him as a man, in his moral qualities. We need only recapitulate a few of the facts we gathered from Pope St. Zachary's letter.

Until the coming of Virgilius St. Boniface had possessed the unlimited favor of Duke Otilo, and had thus been enabled to accomplish great things for the Church in Bavaria. As far as it lay in the power of Virgilius, this friendship between the two men was now to come to an end, not because the welfare of the Church demanded such a change, but simply because it so suited a man who thereby hoped to gain a bishopric. Virgilius knew very well, that St. Boniface had been the right hand of three successive pontiffs; that he had under the greatest hardships labored for the German Church for thirty years. To oppose such a man for merely personal reasons which were not of the noblest kind required indeed a great deal of audacity and quite an unusual degree of meanness. Although not without obstruction on the part of the Frankish government in the appointment of archbishops, St. Boniface had been relatively free from secular influence in the selection of bishops for the sees he had founded him-

[8] But may not Virgilius have thought of something like the inhabitants of Mars or some other planet? The idea that there should exist somewhere in the universe a race similar to us Adamites may be foolish and untenable scientifically; but is it necessarily heretical? However, such a theory, which has become possible only in consequence of an endless series of discoveries, was too strange to the minds of the eighth century. For them the earth was the center of the universe, cosmographically and theologically. It is therefore not surprising, if Virgilius (to return to our document) fancies his "other world" in close connection with the earth, since he says that it is below the earth. Mars, or any other planet, is certainly not below the earth. Evidently he does not conceive his "other world" as a separate heavenly body, another planet, perhaps, entirely independent of the earth. Finally that "other world" of his has also another sun and moon. But Mars, or any other planet, if he thought of one, has not another sun. And as to the moon, the fact that eleven hundred years after his death several little moons of Mars were discovered, could not influence Virgilius in the eighth century. As long as we stick to the information we can glean from the letter of Pope St. Zachary, the theory of "Martians" or similar beings offers no salvation for Virgilius.

self. Virgilius' endeavors to win a bishopric over the head of the apostolic legate by enlisting the support of a secular prince is the first known instance of extending state influence to these bishoprics also. It is a sad honor for him. By his intrigues he contributed his share to enhance that Byzantinism which eventually grew into a veritable curse of the European courts, and which it took all the energy and drastic measures of popes like St. Gregory VII to eradicate. Virgilius even resorted to the barefaced lie that he had received his appointment directly from Rome. For these reasons, all of which are guaranteed by our source, we are obliged to set down Virgilius as an unscrupulous ecclesiastico-political wire puller, who selfishly put his own private interests above the laws and the welfare of the Church.

It is impossible to explain why this side of the question has been so entirely neglected by many authors who occupied themselves with Virgilius. Some take no notice of it at all. Others unhesitatingly lay the whole blame at the door of St. Boniface, whom they accuse of petty jealousy and narrow-mindedness.

## THE THREE VIRGILIUSES.

As already indicated the number of authors is not small who treat it as a matter of course that this Virgilius is identical with the Irish Saint Virgilius, the Bishop of Salzburg, and with another Virgilius, who in a letter signed by him and a certain Sidonius had a few years before this time accused St. Boniface of having ordered the repetition of baptism without sufficient reason. As far as I can see the RIGHT REV. HORACE MANN, author of the *Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages*, was the first to call attention to the fact that such an identification is contrary to the source.[9] For us it will pay to enter a little more deeply into this problem. We shall study first the case of that Virgilius who together with Sidonius reported St. Boniface to the pope for the mistake just mentioned.

The letter which these two men wrote is lost. But there is a letter of Pope St. Zachary, directing St. Boniface to change his practice if the matter really were so as the two men maintained.

[9] *Lives of the Popes*, Vol. I, Part II, page 248, note.

No doubt Virgilius and Sidonius looked upon this letter as a victory. But now St. Boniface reported his side also, and showed that matters were vastly different from what Virgilius and his colleague had stated. So in the same letter which we now have under consideration, the pope returns to the affair of the two men, and orders them to submit to the directions of his legate. The passage in which he does so follows immediately after the one we have been examining, and we must give it our attention. It is this:

"But concerning Sidonius, above mentioned, and Virgilius, the priests, we have noted what thy holiness writes. We have written to them a threatening letter, such as the occasion requires, and more credence is given to thy fraternity than to them. If it pleases God and we live long enough, we shall summon them by apostolic letters to the Holy See. For thou hast instructed them and they have not heeded thy words. It has happened to them as it is written....." follows a long quotation from the Bible....."Therefore, brother, let not thy heart be provoked to anger. But where thou findest such persons, admonish, beseech, chide them, that they may turn from error to the way of truth. If they become converted, thou hast saved their souls; if they remain hardened, thou wilt not lose the reward of thy exertion."

Now anyone who reads this passage with even superficial attention will not fail to notice that it differs widely in tone from the one referring to Virgilius the pseudo-astronomer. While severity and indignation, nay exasperation, speak from the lines of one, there is a considerable amount of mildness, forbearance, and fatherly love in the other. The pseudo-astronomer is severely reprimanded and is actually summoned to Rome, besides being tried in a provincial council. He does not appear to have had any accomplices, while the name of the other Virgilius is coupled with that of Sidonius. Virgilius and Sidonius, too, have received a letter, but not a summons to Rome, nor is their case to be submitted to any local council. If the two Virgiliuses had been the same person, the pope would not have started the second passage with the name of Sidonius and put in the particle *autem*, "but," *Pro Sidonio autem et Virgilio* "But concerning Sidonius" .... More than this the pope says expressly in the first passage

that he does not know whether Virgilius is a priest, while here he calls both Sidonius and Virgilius priests. It is therefore evident, that in this letter the name Virgilius stands for two different persons who are guilty of different transgressions, and to whom are meted out different penalties.

That either of them is identical with the Irish Saint Virgilius of Salzburg cannot be proved from any existing source worthy of credence.

At any rate the pseudo-astronomer cannot have been the Saint of Salzburg. Saint Virgilius was consecrated bishop in 767, that is, nineteen years later than the date of our letter, and probably twenty years after the actual clash of the pseudo-astronomer with St. Boniface. It is known that Saint Virgilius administered the diocese of Salzburg before his consecration when he was abbot of St. Peter at Salzburg. But the sources as to this period of his life are utterly untrustworthy. And even as they are they give no hint which could in any way be used as an argument. The main reason, however, against the identity we find in the practical impossibility that a man of the moral character of the pseudo-astronomer should have turned out to be a Saint.

The countless authors who advocate or rather suppose the identity of the two, do so because they mean to bestow an honor upon the Saint by making him a champion of science. We have seen that there is no championship at all. It is no honor to have taught that there is below the earth another world and other men and another sun and moon. These authors do not think of the fact that if they attribute to Saint Virgilius what they think is great scientific merit, they must take the transgressions of the pseudo-astronomer into the bargain. They must be prepared to allow that their Saint obtained his bishopric, or was at least fully determined to obtain it, by opposing a papal legate, by crouching slavishly before the secular power, and by unblushingly asserting a papel appointment in order to throw sand into the eyes of his ecclesiastical superior.

## CONCLUSION.

As long as our sources remain what they are now—and there is no prospect of their ever being supplanted or supplemented by other reliable evidence—so long we must deny to this Virgilius a place in the hall of fame, and the honor of having held aloft the torch of science in a dark century. He was no credit to his Church, nor to science either. The less said of him the better.

Nor is this to be regretted. We can and ought to point to other men living in that century, to Sts. Aldhelm and Aelbert and to Alcuin, and to their Irish and Roman teachers, who were both orthodox churchmen and disseminators of genuine science, as far as science could be cultivated in so unpropitious a period. And let us not soil the bright escutcheon of St. Virgilius the Bishop of Salzburg and Apostle of Carinthia by making him responsible for the conduct of Virgilius the pseudo-astronomer.

FRANCIS S. BETTEN, S.J.

# THE MONUMENTA GERMANIAE HISTORICA: ITS ANTECEDENTS AND MOTIVES

Benedetto Croce, in his *Theory and History of Historiography*,[1] alludes to the *Monumenta* as a product of the Romantic movement, and as one of the greatest models of historic method. In the ordinary association of ideas, the Romantic spirit would hardly be connected with the thought of exactitude and strict discipline in the pursuit of knowledge. In historiography, however, and especially in the Germany of the later eighteenth and earlier nineteenth centuries, fidelity to sources is precisely what Romanticism stands for; and for the reason that this movement, stressing as it did the importance of an immediate and authentic reaction to contemporary experience in literature and art,—in regard to the past and its records, emphasized a similar authenticity and originality. The historical reasons for this will be touched on toward the close of this paper; meanwhile the observation of Croce, associating as it does the imaginative flavor of Romanticism with strict method and exact knowledge, serves to bring out into high relief at the start, the special aspect of this great historiographical enterprise contemplated in this essay—namely, the cultural interests which determined in common the historical outlook of the men whose efforts and scholarship produced and sustained, as a venture in historiography, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

Not all the collaborators in the *Monumenta* enterprize could be classified as Romanticists. Baron Stein, himself in many ways a typical Romantic, deliberately selected George Henry Pertz to preside over the work; and neither Pertz, nor his master at Göttingen, Heeren (who also assisted in the work), nor for that matter, Dahlmann, Raumer, or Waitz, could be called Romantic historiographers. Yet it was Romantic theory that set the tone of the whole enterprise; and the others found it possible to lead or coöperate only because of some sympathetic point of contact with the majority of the most indefatigable of the workers.

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[1] New York 1921. Trans. from the Italian by DOUGLAS AINSLIE, p. 263.

In the section on the Antecedents, some consideration will be given to the question, how it came to pass that, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there should be a school of historians devoted equally to strict method in research, and to a strongly imaginative and impassioned interpretation of history. Here let us be content to note that when we use the word "study" we speak of a strong and sustained *desire*. The mind values the object it seeks to know, and yet the predilection it brings with it does not disqualify the judgment for the investigation of truth. Science emerges from life, warm from life's struggle, the retina of its eye still glowing with life's colors: and if it is to be of value, it must return to life still warm and glowing. Nay, to the Romanticist, science and art could scarcely be allowed to leave life, or emerge from it, even for one dispassionate moment. Von Ranke once declared that he was a historian first and a Christian afterwards;[2] and so saying, he voiced the ideal of Classical detachment upon which so largely hinged the eventful estrangement of the two schools; schools which, in Germany, had been at first so closely akin, perhaps almost identical as their characteristic ideas were conceived in minds like Bodmer's and Winckelmann's. The Romanticist, whether definitely Christian or not, would have replied to Ranke that before one can be a historian one must be a human being; and that if one's failure to respond to Christianity, or to patriotism or to any other vital fundamental human interest should be due to a serious defect in human sympathies,—then it could easily be seen how one might be the truer historian for having first been a Christian or a patriot. Classicists like Lessing, Goethe, or Ranke were not wholly insensible to such considerations; they repeatedly gave them theoretic weight. Yet on the whole it was the Romanticist who proved to have the courage of the conviction that the interests of science and art must be subordinate to the critical issues of life, while the Classicist tended to claim for science and art a certain sheltered immunity and irresponsibility.

The *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* is the first collection of

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[2] G. P. GOOCH: *History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century*, New York, 1913. See chapter on "Ranke and his Critics."

In FREDERICK SCHLEGEL'S studies on modern history, in the introductory chapter, he comments in a typically Romantic way on Tacitus' claim to have written "without love or hate."

sources for the Mediaeval history of Germanic peoples; and it is at the same time the first documentary publication which can be said to have been made with facilities and methods of modern research and criticism. Because of its scope, it still holds ground as the principal source-collection for the middle ages. It became the model and inspiration of the "Rolls Series" for England, the *Documents Inedits* for France and Belgium, and the other great national collections. It at once set the standard of critical research, and marked the beginning of German leadership in historical study during the nineteenth century.

The enterprise was launched in 1819, a few years after the close of the Napoleonic period, under the auspices of the *Gesellschaft für ältere Deutsche Geschichtskunde*, by the efforts of Baron Stein. The plan, first published in 1824, contemplates the publication of the most important historic sources for Germany, Switzerland, and Austria, including such material common to other nations, between 500 and 1500 A. D. There are five divisions: the *Scriptores*, the *Leges*, the *Diplomata*, the *Epistolae*, and the *Antiquitates*.

The first volume of the *Scriptores* (to Stein's great joy, after great initial difficulties in the enterprise) appeared in 1826, the second in 1829; and in 1835, the first volume of the second section, the *Leges*. Twenty-four volumes in all appeared in the general period between the fall of Napoleon and the beginning of the Prussian Empire. Until 1874 the work had been carried on as a private venture by Stein's historical society under the leadership of Heinrich Pertz, the friend and biographer of Stein.[3] Pertz led the pioneer work of wrestling with the German archives and obtaining material in Italy, and continued to be active until his resignation in 1874, when the *Gesellschaft* was dissolved and the work was taken over by the Prussian Academy. Ten more volumes appeared from that time to 1909, making altogether, to

[3] The first knowledge PERTZ had of STEIN, was his reading of Napoleon's proclamation declaring Stein an outlaw. In PERTZ' portrayal of his friend, he kindles into eloquence at this point: "Napoleon's hatred pointed out to the disheartened people their main hope. Innumerable men then saw Stein's name for the first time, but the outlawry at once surrounded his head with the halo of a martyr. The hearts which in all parts of Germany longed for freedom and found their living leader." WHITE: *Seven Great Statesmen*. N. Y. 1910). Stein's banishment took place in 1808. PERTZ was unknown to STEIN until eleven years later.

that date, thirty-four of the *Scriptores*, five of the *Leges*, and one of the imperial charters under the Diplomatic section. On the two remaining sections, work has not progressed far.

The initial success of the enterprise, once fairly begun, afforded immediate stimulus to fresh researches as well as available source-material for historical writing. Out of the enterprise, (as its by-products, so to speak) developed the *Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum* by Jaffé, the *Fontes Rerum Germanicarum* by Böhmer, and the *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum*. The material thus made available was soon used and presented to the reading public in works by Raumer, Wilken, Stengel, Luden and Voigt, and later by Mommsen, Giesebrecht and others. Ranke generously acknowledged the inspirational effect of the *Monumenta* upon the young students in his own circle of influence.[4]

Others who at the earlier stages had assisted the work either as workers or patrons, were Niebuhr, Savigny, Eichorn, Karl Wilhelm Humboldt, Jacob Grimm, Schlosser, Dahlmann, Wilken, Heeren, and Goethe. The common interests underlying the various points of view of most of these scholars, will be later considered. The reasons for Stein's failure to get coöperation in official circles, and his difficulties in enlisting the interests of scholars, will be referred to again. The resignation of Dahlmann from the society on account of the Carlsbad decree, is an index of the delicacy of the whole situation from a political point of view. Suffice it to say that the *Monumenta*, in its origin and auspices, represented ideals and interests, which were in disfavor with the dominant political powers of the day, and were not congenial to circles of German culture at the time. One may add that the later interest in the work in official circles under the Prussian Empire in 1874, did not necessarily imply that the Hohenzollerns were ever completely converted to Stein's

[4] RANKE was not directly connected with the MONUMENTA, though he contributed to the work two of its most important workers, WAITZ and RAUMER. RANKE'S conception of historiography was of a classical rather than a romantic type. To the Classical in Germany, science and art were spheres of calm, detached from life's passions and partisanships. RANKE'S aim in writing history was to describe the facts so as to enlighten the judicious of all parties and persuasions, and he believed that a dispassionate statement of the most important facts in history was possible. Not so the Romanticists, to whom it seemed rather that the most imporant facts in history, if not stated with passion, would be in effect mis-stated.

national ideals, or that the Prussian Empire in real sense represented these ideals.

## ANTECEDENTS: FROM FLACIUS TO MURATORI.

In order that a work like the *Monumenta* be possible, some progress must have been made in the technique and discipline of historical research. How did this progress come about?

The growth of any science depends not only upon keen intellectual interest, but upon favorable social circumstances which are ready to support and utilize discovery and apply principles. There was no lack of scientific interest in the thought of antiquity, but ancient society was prepared to use and apply only a certain limited degree of science. Aristotle organized and directed extensive investigations for the extension of knowledge, and Archimedes anticipated certain modern inventions, but these were mere efflorescences of ancient thought; they found no essential place in the progress of Greek or Roman culture. The relations of the ancient Mediterranean world to the barbarian regions around it did not seem to make essential an accurate knowledge of those regions. Strict verification of accounts of past history did not seem necessary, in spite of the keen scientific curiosity and the accurate observation that writers and thinkers repeatedly showed. Accounts like those of Pliny's natural history, or the tales of Herodotus, sufficiently met the requirements.

Far different was the cultural world in which Mabillon and the Bollandists found themselves. Here was a world of constantly shifting contacts, a world of changing conditions, in which "history" could no longer afford to be merely a "story," and hope for perpetuation. Sixteen centuries of the Christian religion had seen the decay of the ancient culture, and then came its slow rebirth in the new Faith; and now Christendom was being plunged into a fiery flux of fresh contact with new worlds and unknown parts of the old world, while everywhere were being scattered documents of the life of past centuries. For good or evil, for weal or woe, the human intellect was being bathed for the first time in the quantitative vastness and variety of the universe, to swim or to be drowned. The laws of change, which

hitherto had been tempered to human inertia, were being put into accelerated motion. In such a world, solid foundations must be laid, or discovered, in anything that could call itself knowledge. The dealings which Christendom was having with the new lands and the unknown civilizations west and east, were making more and more probable, the recurrence of fresher, more various and more frequent contacts, which were sure to correct careless conjecture, and stultify provincial prides and ignorances. Accurate and exact knowledge, which to the ancients had been little more than a mental gymnastic, was becoming more and more a necessity. Hence, when the Bollandists and the Maurists undertook their vast collections, it would be borne in upon them vividly, just because of the greatness of their task and the earnestness with which they reckoned the conditions, that the time had come when, in the providences of God, exact knowledge and correct classification had become a necessity—not the internal necessity alone of a conscientious scholar, but now for the first time a social cultural necessity. With such a task, this necessity must be ministered to if the greater glory of God was to be served. Papebroch and Mabillon knew their times well enough to realize that if it should ever be given to them in their labors to discover facilities for the attainment of certitude in historical research, such discoveries would not remain mere cultural curiosities, but eventually would be built eagerly into the structure of advancing knowledge by others who should follow them—not that such an incentive was necessary to their labors, for many of their fellow-religious had similarly toiled without it. But certainly in the new interests with which motives for exact knowledge were re-enforced, this realization must have added its solid encouragement to their efforts to defend with a special and sustained watchfulness, the sanctity of the Church.

Collection of historical sources had begun on a considerable scale and were printed and published about the year 1515 under the patronage of the Emperor Maximilian I. Volumes were printed containing the writings of Otto von Friesing, of Einhard, and others earlier and later. These researches arose out of a flare of racial pride, which had followed the discovery of the writings of Tacitus and Valleius. There was a burst of enthu-

siasm over the memory of Arminius, of Siegfried, and of "Dietrich von Berne," as Theodoric the Great was called. Maximilian had altered his Imperial title to "Elected Emperor" in order to emphasize independence of the confirmation by the Papacy.

These first collections, however, had been made uncritically, and it was not until after the death of Luther that the first collection of sources appears, in which later standards of system and scrutiny of sources can be said in any sense to be approximated. This work, the "Magdeburg Centuries," was compiled coöperatively under the direction of Matthias Flacius, published between the years 1559-75. The undoubted learning and critical ability it manifests[5] only accentuate the unhistorical character of the purpose of the work, which is to discredit every claim of the Catholic Church, which the writers represent as a diabolical invention. Criticism is suspended in case of the most preposterous slanders, and they are included while true evidence is rejected. Robert Flint[6] alludes to the work as "an enormous mass of erudition whence all Lutheran Church histories for a century afterwards were drawn, but which betrayed a spirit so bitter and unjust that Roman Catholics had some excuse for speaking of it as the Centuries of Satan." John B. Peterson refers to it aptly as a "sunken landmark in historical literature" serving as the "stimulus for Baronius' genius." Flacius was was even accused of mutilating manuscripts in his fanatical search for warped evidence, though Myers calls this a vexed question, adding that the remains of his library at Wolfenbuttel do not lessen the force of the accusation. At all events, the term "cultur Flacianus" became proverbial.

It is impossible to avoid the impression that a common, or at least a cognate motive underlies the partisan collection of Flacius, and the collections made on the eve of the Reformation period under the auspices of Maximilian. Both show the desire to discover historical support for repudiation of the vital bonds that hitherto had bound western Europe together, that spiritual power which had transformed roving tribes into nations, that

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[5] *Philosophy of History in France and Germany*, Book II, Chapter I, pp. 333-43.

[6] EDWARD MYERS, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. III, p. 535, concedes critical ability and learning to Flacius.

had transferred an Empire from one race to another. Both collections were anti-Papal in spirit, the earlier covertly, the later radically and virulently. People who believe in irresponsible racial nationalisms, would say that the "irrepressible genius of the Teutonic race was instinctively searching in history its title to national independence." On such an interpretation we need not comment here. We are concerned with the motives of a collection of sources made by German patriots over two centuries later, in quite a different spirit, with quite a different conception of the Fatherland. The retrospect of the Germany of the two preceding centuries did not seem to incline these later patriots to race pride as the exclusive basis of national unity.

The sixteenth century, then, saw the beginning of a restless ransacking of historical records in the interests of a Teutonic rewriting of history. The seventeenth century saw, parallel with the progress of the counter-Reformation, first the collections of sources in which Baronius met the attacks on Catholic order in Christian society, where the historical aspects of providence and grace in the Church had been impugned; next, the Maurists and Bollandists who made their collections with the primary object of meeting historically and biographically the attacks on the sanctity of the Church.

A sketch of the difficulties and the opportunities of documentary research from the reign of Maximilian to the abdication of his last successor in the Holy Roman Empire, will help us to appreciate the conditions under which the basis of historical science was laid.[7]

During the Rennaissance, changes of fortune occasioned the formation of many private collections of manuscripts, so that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries some of the most important documents were in private hands, available only under the most disheartening conditions of travel, correspondence, and negotiation, often with eccentric or avaricious possessors. The technical name "iter" is applied to the vast mass of correspondence, much of it still extant, which scholars found necessary in this connection. Its volume testifies to the strength and per-

[7] The sketch of bibliographical conditions from the Rennaissance to the Revolution, is based upon the first chapter of G. S. BERRY'S translation of Ch. V. LANGLOIS and Ch. SEIGNOBOS: *Introduction to the Study of History.*

sistence of the desire of scholars for historic authenticity, under conditions most unfavorable.

The royal archives were more accessible, and as time went on the difficulties were modified by a gradual trickling of documents from private collections, through purchase, death, or otherwise, toward the royal libraries.

The French Revolution precipitated a sudden concentration, by confiscation or otherwise, of documents in national repositories, where there was scarcely room for them. This was a great gain, from the point of view of accessibility, though somewhat offset by the barbarous "weeding-out" of material, on the ground of inconvenience or unimportance, by ignorant officials.

The difficulties of access to sources in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was no doubt a severe test to conscientious writers on historical subjects. Ch. V. Langlois[8] has some significant remarks on temptations of historians even to-day, in this age of libraries, catalogues, and indices, in the face of inadequate access to sources. How much greater was the temptation to superficiality when adequate command of sources was impossible, and all serious writers knew it. It is not surprising to find, as we approach the eighteenth century, (particularly in France, but not in Italy)[9] the divergence of two quite different types of students of history, the savants who generalized, and the laborers who toiled to gather and valuate historical material.[10] There were those who were content with superficial knowledge, if only they could leave the mark of their thought upon their time; and

[8] *Op. cit.*, chap. i.

[9] An exception to this French tendency is FRÉRET, whose critical use of sources places him in the same category with MURATURI and VICO as precursors of the *Monumenta* and its historians. (FLINT. *Philosophy of History in France*, pp. 246 ff.) FRÉRET was born 1688, died 1749.

[10] The humanist scholars were often men of eager and voracious learning, and at times the freshness and boldness of their approach to historical subjects resulted in valuable criticism. Yet often the distractions and passions of their personal quarrels, ambitions, and intrigues interfered with the thoroughness of their researches as well as with the judicial calm and balance of their thought. Laurentius Valla, who called attention to the anachronisms in the "Donation of Constantine" is an instance of the restless and destructive influence in culture, which nevertheless served as a spur to those who desired a deeper and better-grounded knowledge of the past. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, however, as we shall note later, there emerged a new type of Italian humanism, at once more thorough in research, more discriminating in criticism, and more constructive in spirit.

who often had the passion for destruction; such were the encyclopedists. And on the other hand, there were the workers in the mines of material and fact, who were laying the foundations for historical science, such as the Jesuits Bollandus and Papebroch, and the Benedictine Maurists; Mabillon and his master Luc d'Achery; Montfaucon, and at length in Italy Muratori.

Thus, the first stimulus to modern research had been the "Centuries," an elaborate attempt, to rewrite history in justification of the revolt against the Catholic Church in the name of Protestantism. The "Annals" of Cardinal Baronius, compiled at the instance of St. Philip Neri to answer Flacius, were finished in 1697, and the thoroughness and honesty of this work made it the basis of future collections. The attempt of the Protestant Scaliger by a counter-collection to refute Baronius was unable to dislodge it from its position of elementary authenticity. Yet the relative timidity with which Baronius used his undoubted critical powers[11] was a symptom of the conservative and defensive attitude of the apologetic of the period. It remained for the later hagiologists in their researches for the defense of the sanctity of the Church to discover the principles of documentary criticism.

For it was not in Germany, nor by Protestant scholars, that the foundation of critical research was laid. The anarchy and misery of the Thirty Years' War prostrated the culture of Germany, so that from the peace of Westphalia to the French revolution, (besides the later names of Mosheim and Neander)[12] only one great name stands out as contributing to progress in historiography, and that is Leibnitz, and he is especially noteworthy for his efforts toward the reconciliation of the Lutherans to the Catholic Church. We shall be reminded of Leibnitz when we consider Stein's outlook on German affairs.

But it was in Belgium, France and Italy that the canons of

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[11] JOHN B. PETERSON on *Baronius* in Vol. II, p. 306, *Catholic Encyclopedia.*

[12] FLINT refers to MOSHEIM among other German historians of the period (PFAFF and WALCHS) as characterized by an "admirable impartiality" and yet there is clear evidence in S. R. MAITLAND'S *The Dark Ages*, that in spite of his "impartiality" Mosheim relied at times upon authorities that showed clearly the marks of the "*culter Flacianus.*" See S. R. MAITLAND: *The Dark Ages.* (John Hodges, London, 1890), No. VII, pp. 128-140 sq.

source-criticism were discovered and applied for the first time, among coöperative groups of devout Catholics. Mabillon, whose piety equalled his genius, in defending certain documents which Papebroch, the Bollandist, had pronounced spurious, laid down the canons of documentary criticism which have never since needed revision or substantial addition.[13] Montfaucon did almost as much for the sciences of chronology, paleography and bibliography, and anticipated the science of archaeology.[14] Shotwell recognizes this contract between the "deep underwork of scientific history" by these modest and devout workers, and the "brilliant writers whose untrustworthy generalities passed for history in the salons of the old regime." He might go further and say that when the encyclopedists began to aim their ridicule, open or furtive, at Christian "obscurantism," the basis of scientific knowledge of the past had already been laid by Catholic priests and monks.

Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* was the real pioneer as a national collection of sources, though it proved how inadequately such a task must necessarily be executed, undertaken single-handed. Shotwell calls Muratori[15] the father of critical historiography, doubtless because he first applied critical method fully to history on the basis of careful research, on a large scale.

It was the researches and discoveries of priests and monks, not the wit of encyclopedists, that laid the foundation for the *Monumenta* and for the historical scholarship and science of the

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[13] Papebroch readily admitted his confutation by Mabillon, and at once adopted the canons laid down by the latter.

[14] Others mentioned by SHOTWELL as having developed "the indispensable implements of modern historians," are MARTENE, the liturgiologist, and RUINART, MABILLON'S assistant, who completed his work *De Re Diplomatica*. In the next century, besides the work of Dom Bernhard de Montfaucon, there was further work on parchments by DOM TASSIN and DOM TOUSTAIN. DOM BOUQUET'S *Historiens de la Gaule et de la France* is but one of a dozen tasks of similar magnitude." These were all Benedictines of St. Maur.

[15] MURATORI was a secular priest, in active and devoted cure of souls throughout his career of learning and literature. It must not be forgotten that the critical method of FRÉRET, in France, and his valuation of sources, was an anticipation of the critical historiography of the nineteenth century.

nineteenth century.[16] And if the revolutionary convulsions precipitated by the destructive doctrines of the "enlightenment," served to nationalize documentary sources and render them accessible to scholars; what was this but a kind of providential consolation to culture for the spoilations of the Reformation period, and the mutilations of history by the spiritual, if not the literal "culter Flacianus?"

That the Maurist achievements were the inspirational model Stein had in mind during his efforts to launch the *Monumenta* is evident in his repeated allusions to the Benedictine scholars, as recorded by the Pertz biography and transcribed in the biographical politico-economic studies of Seeley and Ford.[17] In the first interview between Stein and Pertz, which Seeley quotes in full from Pertz's biography of his friend, the Maurists are mentioned.

We have spoken of Muratori's *Scriptores* for Mediaeval Italy as the most direct precursor of the *Monumenta* as a collection of sources. The time-limit of both works is significantly identical—500-1500 A. D. But this is not the only relation which Muratori bears to the German scholarship of the *Monumenta*. Not only in the specific interest of documentary research, but in critical standards of culture generally, the Italy

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[16] FUETER, in his *Histoire de l'historiographie* (Paris, 1914, p. 409) says that it was the character of the work done by these religious and priests that set the standard for later German research; that the *Monumenta*, "par leur disposition sont parents des *Scriptores* de Dom Bouquet et de Muratori; les *Annales* de Tillement et de Mabillon revinerent dans le *Jahrbucher de l'empire d'Allemagne*." (Trans. from the German, Berlin, 1911). SHOTWELL says of the Maurists, "The place of this school in the history of history is without a parallel. Few of those in the audiences of Molière, returning home under the gray walls of St. Germain-de-près, knew that within that monastery the men whose sleep they were disturbing were laying the basis for all scientific history; and few of the later historians of that age have been any wiser."

[17] JOHN ROBERT SEELEY: *Life and Times of Stein: or Germany and Prussia in the Napoleonic Age*. Cambridge, 1878. GUY STANTON FORD. *Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia*. Princeton University Press, 1922. FORD records an amusing bit of evidence of Baron Stein's appreciation of the Maurist labors, and of his appreciation of the contribution of Catholic religious discipline to the cause of science; when Stein read Pertz' announcement of his marriage at Paris, he threw the latter on the table, exclaiming with characteristic vehemence, "Pertz is lost to us. An English bluestocking has caught him in Paris. Scholars who want to accomplish anything should not marry, but live together and work like the monks of St. Maur." It should be added in justice to Frau Pertz that the Baron was agreeably disappointed in his apprehensions.

of Muratori's time was the parent and the teacher of the Germany of the eighteenth century. Muratori and his fellow-Italian thinkers and scholars formulated the general cultural canons and ideals, both for artistic creation and for the extension of exact knowledge, which inspired the German Classical and Romantic movements which later came to be such dominant influences in the culture of the nineteenth century. The historians of the *Monumenta* owed to the Maurists the example of arduous, coöperative research; to Muratori they owed confirmation of source-valuation, and in addition a stimulating example of critical historical interpretation, and the ennunciation of an important principle affecting historical presentation.

J. G. Robertson, in his study of Italian factors in the genesis of German romantic theory in the eighteenth century,[18] traces certain reactions and interactions of national cultural standards on each other, ever since the creation by Boileau of the French classical norm for taste and style in art and social life. French classicism, Robertson insists, was a noble cultural achievement; but he shows how, in spite of its pervasive influence in Europe, it was only partly successful in moulding the taste of England, Spain, Italy, and Germany. One discerns, after following Robertson's study, that this failure was due to the modifications which French classicism underwent on account of those peculiarly national developments that underlay the famous literary "Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns." This protracted controversy had the effect of estranging the literary and artistic life of France from the first-hand study and love of antiquity, under the influence of the "Moderns," who were the precursors of the "enlightenment." French "classic" culture became distinctively Bourbon, with a contempt for antiquarian study as "pedantic," and with this dislike for original research was accompanied a superficial, distinctively French skepticism as to the reliability of historical records or tradition—"historical Pyrrhonism," as Bayle, one of its exponents, called it. This was combined with a graceful *congé* of acknowledgment to Latin traditions in form and style. Altogether it was a compromise between a style formally classic, and a spirit essentially modern

[18] Cambridge, 1923.

and negligent of the past, and more and more obviously in the interest of the prestige of Bourbon nationalism. The tendency of this cultural norm was to exalt social opinion as a check upon individual invention and investigation; moderation and good sense were exalted at the expense of spontaneity, originality, and first-hand knowledge. Much was made of objective regulative principles, and the repression of eccentricity. Increasing stress was laid on "progress," but it was a progress based on opinion, and on social dictation.

In England, although French classicism became and continued to be fashionable in aristocratic circles, the traditional love of Shakespeare alone would be sufficient to prevent complete domination of the French standard of taste. Robertson shows how Dryden, and later Addison, manifest the double influence of the French classical standard and the English romantic tradition, and all that the latter meant with respect to power in the expression of passion, variety and vividness in response to human interests, and creative imagination.

In Germany culture had scarcely time to recover from the Thirty Years' War. French influence had some reflection in critics like Gottsched, but the Italian influence, which we are about to consider, very quickly eclipsed it. It was not until the "enlightenment" was fairly under way that French standards had weight in Germany, and by that time the German types of culture were firmly and confidently exercising their criticism. In Spain there was a willingness to learn from France; indeed from Spanish writers there was too supple submission to the castigation of the French critic, Père Bouhours.

But in Italy, the traditional national consciousness of heritage of antique culture,[19] made it impossible for the French classicism as modified by the French "modern" spirit, to be accepted as the standard. Several decades later Italy actually yielded to the "enlightenment" influence; but at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a strong, though a discriminating reaction against the French

[19] Increasing stress seems to be laid by scholars on the continuity of Italian consciousness of antique heritage. Certainly in this instance the importance of the fact can scarcely be overestimated. On this matter, H. O. TAYLOR dwells much in his *Mediaeval Mind*.

standards. Those who regarded themselves as the true heirs of ancient Athens and Rome, were not ready to bend to a norm that was clearly neo-Classical, and could even be called by some, pseudo-classical. The effect of French criticism threw the Italians back upon their own cultural origins. Defending Tasso and Dante against French deprecation, they went back to Virgil and Homer, to a Sophocles and Pindar. And a first-hand study of the ancients helped the Italian thinkers to bolder and more adequate standards in art and science. The reality and thoroughness with which they contemplated the spirit of antiquity made them the more self-confident in their valuations of modernity, while at the same time they were able to correct the extravagances, the excesses, and the eccentricities left over from both Renaissance and Mediaeval traditions, which had been the subject of French Bourbon censure.

Thus, a cultural standard began to be formulated which was more truly modern because it was founded on a first-hand study of antiquity; and, it might be added, with more or less definite underlying Christian consciousness. The principal thinkers who in different ways contributed to its formulation were Gravina, Conti, Muratori, Martinelli, Vico and Maffei. The two fundamental notes of valuation in this type of criticism (so far as they affect our subject) were, first, stress on fidelity to historical documentary sources; and second, special valuation of the sensibilities, the emotions, and the creative imagination. In these two stresses we see the reaction against French Bourbon dislike for documents, historical skepticism, and distrust of emotion and imagination.

It was from these Italians that German cultural criticism received its basic canons. As Germany recovered from the war ravages, Bodmer and Breitinger of Zurich were corresponding with Calepio, the principal "carrier" of the Italian ideas to the Germans. Gottsched, the representative in Leipzig of the French school, was decisively defeated in a controversy on Milton. From that point onward German scholarship, in art criticism and exact knowledge, tended to develop the valuations stressed by Garvina, Conti and Muratori.

In the growing appreciation of Shakespeare, in the beginnings of the science of archaeology and the interpretations of

the spirit of antique art, in Lessing's studies of the limitations of arts imposed by their *media;* in Herder's theories of human development, in Wolf's *Prolegomena* and its theory of the popular origin of Homeric poetry; in the music of Haydn, of Mozart and Beethoven; in Goethe and Schiller as well as in the Schlegels, Tieck and Novalis, are to be seen, in theory and in embodiment, the German types of culture known as the Classic and the Romantic schools.

It is to be remembered that (as Robinson shows by quotations from Muratori) the Italian critics accepted the general Catholic principle that art and the pursuit of knowledge cannot be isolated from the fundamental interests of life, morality and faith. In the German cultural development, however, there entered gradually a tendency to isolate cultural interests from the fundamental loyalties of common life. This was seen in growing detachment of cultural leaders from concrete patriotic and religious interests, noticeable in Lessing, Herder, Hegel, and Goethe. It was the Romantic movement that most strongly opposed this tendency toward esoteric and irresponsible culture. Goethe had said "think of living,"[20] and then had concentrated upon the work of mind and imagination; but the Romanticists actually did "think of living"; they refused to isolate culture from life, and this helped to explain why so many of the Romanticists were open to the attraction and the claims of the Catholic Church. During the first twenty years of the nineteenth century, preceding the *Monumenta* enterprise, and following the conversion to the Catholic Church of Count Stolberg in 1800, one notable conversion after another from among the Romantic poets, critics, and students of law and economics was rapidly preparing a crisis in the German cultural world. The approaching crisis was signalized in 1819 by an attack on Stolberg by his old friend and schoolmate Voss, a classical scholar and poet. Goethe's personality was a kind of Olympian center around which intellectual life in Germany moved, and hitherto Goethe had sought to harmonize the two types of German culture. But the attack of Voss upon Stolberg made Goethe think a decision was necessary, and that the tendency toward general

[20] WILHELM MEISTER (Bohn) in the chapter on Meister's initiation and his indenture.

recognition of a Catholic and Christian basis for culture must be sternly checked. Goethe published a disavowal of the Romantic-Christian-patriotic-new-German School, as he called it, his dislike of zeal of any kind being worked upon, and his fears for the tranquil detachment of Weimar culture being aroused. The religious issue of this whole chain of episodes is nowhere more clearly discernible than in Heine's hostile account of the Romantic movement.[21]

In the light of this tense situation, which resulted in the misrepresentation, to the public mind, of the whole significance and character of Romanticism, and the withdrawal of much sympathy from it, one can understand some of the difficulties of the *Monumenta* enterprise, amid the suspicion and slander that was sown broadcast after the unscrupulous attack of Voss upon his old friend. It can also be appreciated why thoughtful Protestants like Stein, during that eventful score of years which saw the formal end of the Holy Roman Empire, then the fall of Napoleon, and throughout the whole period one notable conversion after another,—should betake themselves to history, particularly the history of the great Christian centuries.

In its relation to historiography, then, Romanticism was in Germany a type of study of the past which shared with German Classicism a conscientious fidelity to documentary sources, but which in its historical criticism regarded events in relation to the crucial moral and spiritual issues of life; and in its presentations of history, regarding its task as a vital reconstruction of the past, requiring the aid of the sympathetic imagination. Michelet's definition of history, often quoted by Belloc,[22] is essentially Romanticist in spirit: "History is a resurrection of the flesh." This is exactly how Neibuhr, Savigny, Eichhorn, Grimm, Luden, Voigt and Giesebrecht regarded history.

## THE MOTIVES.

The *Monumenta* resembled the "Magdeburg Centuries" in one respect at least; it was a collection made coöperatively under Protestant (at least nominally Protestant) auspices. But the

[21] HEINRICH HEINE: *The Romantic School.* Trans. New York, 1882.
[22] In his preface to NICKERSON: *The Inquisition.* New York, 1924.

spirit and attitude toward the past was wholly different. In the Germany of the Reformation there were types of Protestants who protested half-heartedly against the bitterness and the destructiveness of the movement. The followers of Melanchthon refused to assist Flacius in compiling his distorted history. In such a tradition of moderation and humanist sympathy, later scholars like Grotius, Leibnitz and Casaubon shared. And now, within the second decade of the nineteenth century, there is gathered together a group of scholars from whose outlook sectarian bias has practically disappeared, to collect historical sources for the Middle Ages. And yet it was not a colorless desire to accumulate facts that gathered them in the undertaking, but motives that rose out of the hopes and indignations of a generation that knew the partition of Poland, and to which the struggles of Schill and of Andreas Hofer were fresh memories.[23]

It is in the career and personality of Heinrich Friedrick Karl, Baron von und Zum Stein, that we get the keynote to the motive of the *Monumenta*. Few men in public life have shown a more consistent unity of purpose throughout a most eventful career. First and last he was a patriot, just when patriotism was most unfashionable among men of his rank. He saw the world with German eyes, felt the humiliations of his country as few of the talented of his countrymen felt them with a German heart. He had been outlawed by Napoleon, who with the tyrant's instinct, had singled him out as the most resourceful enemy of his plans. With Schill and Hofer, he became, since his exile in the Bohemian mountains, one of the heroes of German emancipation.

By inheritance Stein was a knight of the Holy Roman Empire, and it was this fact that made him stand out after the defeat of Napoleon as the representative of the old national chivalry, and even suggested to some minds the propriety of crowning him head of a constitutional German Empire. At the same time, he was a Protestant, and though the more bitter "Reformation" traditions were absent from his home training, his biographers show him to have been, in character and outlook,

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[23] The remains of Andres Hofer were translated with high honor to the Court Chapel in Innsbruck, and a statue erected there to his memory, in 1823, a year before the *Monumenta* plan appeared (*Catholic Encyclopedia* on "Hofer"). For Schill and Hofer, see also POULTNEY BIGELOW, *History of the German Struggle for Liberty*, chapters xviii & xix, pp. 172-193.

quite representative in the main of a certain type of German Protestant man of affairs.[24] As a Protestant, it was to Prussia rather than to Austria that he would naturally look as the necessary centre of the restoration of national unity and greatness.[25] And yet these facts (of his Protestantism and of his conviction that upon the rehabilitation of Prussia depended all hope of future German greatness) make all the more significant those interests and mental predilections that resulted in the *Monumenta* enterprise, and the character of the group of scholars he gathered about his undertaking.

At Göttingen he finished the academic part of his education. Charlemagne and Luther[26] were the two figures in history that seem to have attracted his admiration most. He seems to have made a special study of political economy and civil government. In the former study the views of Adam Smith in the "Wealth of Nations" were the dominant influence, for it was the main principles of Classical political economy that he put into effect in his later reforms of Prussia, and his organization of industrial life in the Ruhr basin. Stein was no "ideologist" (to use Napoleon's contemptuous epithet) nor was he a mere opportunist politician. That he was not a sentimental feudalist is shown by the nature of his achievements, for it was he who, when the Czar, as virtual receiver for the bankrupt Prussian kingdom, put its affairs into his hands, abolished the vicious form of capitalistic serfdom that had been the legacy of the Reformation there. In 1796, as supreme president of the Westphalian chambers of commerce, he canalized the Ruhr section. He had made observations in England of the progress of the industrial revolution. His reforms were guided by one purpose: to place the Prussian people in an economic situation in which they could have a stake in the na-

[24] In his mansion at Nassau, STEIN had built a lofty old-style German tower, on which he had inscribed the first line of Luther's hymn *Ein Feste Burg ist unser Gott.* (Seeley's *Life and Times etc.*).

[25] To the contrary, see note 18.

[26] Later knowledge and reflection seem to have suggested misgivings about Luther.

tion; in other words, to create patriotism, by creating the economic conditions that would liberate love of country.[27]

Such a man cannot be dismissed as one who lived only in a past age, or dreamed of an impossible future. It is true, that the essential Germany whose foundations he was trying to lay—a constitutional Germany, with some degree of popular initiative in government—was never realized, and yet it was not, at the time, and *a priori* impossible Germany. The potential elements of the Germany of Stein's vision were evident during his time.

As a student of history and of contemporary life, Stein had one object: to discover the secret of national strength, poise, solidarity, conscious power, for Germany.[28] This was the ex-

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[27] STEIN'S memoirs to the government in 1806 or 1807, says GUY STANTON FORD, show his concern to create a landed citizenship, with an affectionate zeal for the Fatherland. Part of his memoirs are devoted to Poland, in which he recommends toleration of national individuality, language and institutions. He advocates freedom for the peasantry, their ownership of their holdings, with indemnification of the proprietor class. For this he incurred the hostility of the junkers. There seems to be no doubt that in court circles Stein was bitterly hated, though SEELEY hesitates to believe that this hatred among the nobility was general.

SEELEY thus interprets the motive common to Stein's political activities, and to this later historiographical enterprise: He had struggled against "bureaucracy in the state," and now he was struggling against "bureaucracy in education." One of his aphorisms, used in his first conversation with PERTZ, was "Centralize-paralyze." Indeed there is much to show the political kinship of STEIN with his contemporaries on this side the Atlantic who succeeded, as he did not, in founding a federal constitutional state. As to bureaucracy, we on this side are still fighting it.

[28] Professor U. G. WEATHERLY, in his article, in 1900 on Stein's German policy, (based on a study of STEIN'S correspondence, some of which PERTZ evidently never saw) inclined to the view that STEIN'S plans for German unity were determined partly by his idealistic enthusiasm for the old days of the Empire, and partly by his practical sense of what seemed possible; the first, strengthened by his inherited traditions, kept his hopes centered on Austria until Austria as a center of unity proved impossible; as for the second, he had discerned and recognized since 1803 that Prussia was destined at least to hold a joint hegemony with Austria in the restored Germany. But, WEATHERLY asserts, "That he (STEIN) thought of anything more for Prussia than a position coördinate with Austria, there is no shadow of evidence." It was just his persistent hopes for Austria, and at the same time his practical sense of the immediate possibilities, that involved him in a contradictory course, so that he encouraged the Imperial plans of Arnot even while he was coöperating with Hardenburg and Humboldt in strengthening Prussian leadership. It would seem that his prevailing conception of German unity was that of a dual hegemony under Prussia and Austria, but that he was ever ready to hope against hope that Austria might prove capable of supreme leadership. In 1812 he wrote to Münster: "I have one Fatherland; that is Germany..... My confession of faith is unity, and if that is not possible, then some shift, some transition

planation of his admiration of England, and of his close study of French affairs. His strong emotional reaction against the French, against the cosmopolitan spirit of the Aufklärung, against its revolutionary assault upon ancient custom and tradition, his condemnation of the career of Napoleon as the culminating catastrophe of an attempt to apply superficial philosophies of life—all this did not prevent him from detecting the strength of the French national spirit, as it emerged from the Revolution.

What Stein saw with the clarity of a patriot in an age of hazy cosmopolitanism, was that the chief victim of German "Reformation" and French "Enlightenment" and English Protestant Toryism,[29] had been, in the end, Germany. The Pro-

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stage..... Put what you will in place of Prussia, dissolve her, strengthen Austria with Silesia and the Electoral Mark with North Germany..... Restore Würtemburg, Bavaria and Baden to their position before 1802 and make Austria mistress of Germany—I wish it; it is good—if only it is practical." That it was impracticable, of course, he was increasingly forced to realize. But, Professor WEATHERLY insists, it is just as clear that Prussian supremacy is not once hinted at in the sources he consulted.

SEELEY, (*op. cit.*) regards FICHTE'S "Address to the German Nation" as "the prophetical or canonical book which announces and explains a great transition in modern Europe." The significant fact of this address, according to this British student of German history, was the clear distinction which FICHTE made between the *State* and the *Nation*. This distinction was of the essence of the Romantic view of history, as represented by Stein and the historians of the *Monumenta*. In this distinction may be seen the kinship between the latter and the makers of the American nation. In it also may be discerned a resurgence of that associative principle, applied to modern nationalities, which had found mediaeval expression in the guilds, the free cities, and the Hanseatic league, though these were not in the modern sense nationalistic.

[29] From his youth STEIN, like many of his contemporaries, had been an admirer of England, in particular the British political system. Yet this admiration did not blind him to the social injustice that was especially rife in the United Kingdom in 1828, when he wrote commenting on the serious situation there, of the oppression of the Establishment with its non-resident clergy, of "a *noblesse* that has almost monopolized landed property," of the "high prices caused by the Corn laws," and of "a population half of which is crowded into the towns, and so becomes dependent on all its accidents of trade and commerce, and is exposed to the most crushing want; a steady persistence in injustice toward six million Irish Catholics, whose treatment exhibits scenes of murder, persecution, spoiliation unparalleled in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, all caused by legislation, which ought to protect life and property. (SEELEY'S *Life and Times of Stein*, (Chapter III. Part IX). FORD'S *Stein and the Era of Reform* tells of STEIN'S appointment to supervise the incorporation of the Bishoprics of Paderborn and Münster into the Prussian state in order to help meet Napoleon's indemnity. This involved a sympathetic dealing with Catholic populations. SEELEY also notes that STEIN'S home in Nassau was near the

testantism that England had utilized for her own national independence and vigor, which helped to lay the foundations for her colonial empire; the later "rationalism" that had disclaimed national limits and yet had served as fuel for French nationalism; these movements, the "Reformation" and the "Revolution," and the clever eclectic manipulation of the former by France and of the latter by England, had drained and prostrated Germany, had made an effete anachronism of the "Roman Empire of the German nation," had divided Germany into opposing religious camps, had destroyed the commercial prestige inaugurated by the Hanseatic league, had rendered the nation powerless through the jealousies of princes and the systematic cultivation of indifference to national interests.

The fame of German genius in music, in thought, in letters had been furthered during the era of cultural brilliance in the eighteenth century, but it had been at the expense of the national spirit. The lights of "classicism," Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, disdained patriotism as vulgarly particularistic; while even the first romanticists, including Herder, had a universalistic background to their national feeling. Even Fichte[30] intimated that all was not lost if the nation, as such, were ruined. It was from France, even from Napoleon's triumphs, that Beethoven drew much of his inspiration.

The characteristic defect of the whole influence of the Aufklärung, radiating as it did from the French encyclopedists, but with more depth and idealism in Germany than in France—had been its indifference to historic and social development, its tendency to regard social institutions and relations as artificial contrivances imposed upon nature, not as integral parts of a living

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Catholic sections of the Rhine province, and that, with his neighbors, he sympathized in the Belgian revolution.

DAVID JAYNE HILL, in his *History of European Diplomacy*, vol. i, ch. i, notes the contrast between the associative features of mediaeval society, and the centralization and individualism of the modern state. He does not seem to note, as SEELEY did, the strength of the associative principle in modern nationalism, and its corporate spirit, as opposed to state centralization and individualism. On this issue STEIN and METTERNICH were opposed, as are the bureaucracy and democracy of to-day.

[30] SEELEY intimates that STEIN could hardly have been uninfluenced by the suggestions in FICHTE'S "Address to the German Nation." In these addresses, FICHTE raises the questions, what is a Nation, and what is Patriotism? In his answer he significantly distinguishes between Patriotism and loyalty to the State.

and growing structure. Burke in England felt this defective historic sense in French philosophy as he watched the progress of the revolution, as Stein in another way felt it as he watched the career of Napoleon. Eighteenth century rationalism, whether in its French form of brilliant generalization or whether in its German form of emulation of an idealized antiquity, seldom thought of studying institutions as the result of vital processes. The convulsions of the revolutionary period, the revolt of the American colonies, and the shock felt at the partition of Poland, were events that gave forcible proof of an organic quality in social and national life.[31]

Apparently the doctrines on which France and England seemed to know how to thrive, or at least to use as powerful stimulants, had been used as the pretext for the destruction of Poland, and had proved a slow poison to Germany. What if they were really a poison to Christian civilization? It is certain that Stein had moments when these misgivings assailed him. His friends, Neibuhr and Schön, feared on one occasion that he might become a Catholic.[32] Still more certainly, the conviction

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[31] WILLIAM STUBBS, on the importance of "ideas" in European history since the revolutionary period, says: "The partition of Poland forced the idea of nationality upon the world, and the result of the American colonies forced self-government, as a political gospel, upon general belief. The suppression of Poland forced upon the world the conscience that nationality is more than a geographical formula, and showed how easily force and fraud could remove the landmarks of ancient territorial right..... The destruction of that kingdom was a precedent for the destruction of any kingdom." (*Seventeen Lectures*, &c., chapter X).

[32] Schön wrote about STEIN, during a trying period: "His unrest expresses itself in violent utterances against individuals, and in charging want of enthusiasm among the Germans upon the Reformation, and growing very angry with Luther. His ill-humor was increased when writers described him as a Liberal, and Austria regarded him with disfavor. The Russian Emperor visibly shrunk from him on this account. This annoyed him to such extent that for some days Niebuhr and I fancied he would become a Catholic." (JOHN ROBERT SEELEY'S *Life and Times of Stein*, p. 155, Chapter V). Arndt, on the contrary, thought he might become a Moravian. There can hardly be a question that he had periods of spiritual unrest, very evident to friends. SEELEY remarks that STEIN was impatient with the cold Protestantism of North Germany, which, unlike Catholicism for Spain in 1808 and the Greek Church for Russia in 1812, did not inspire the nation with heroism. (Arndt was the poet of German patriotic unity. His popular national song, "What is the German Fatherland?" was just as clear a deprecation of Prussian domination as it was an assertion of national unity. The vogue of this song during the national movement clearly marks the difference between the earlier patriotism, and the later nationalism.)

grew on him that something precious was being systematically starved and crushed—something not peculiar to Germany, but common to all western Europe; something preserved in their piety and their love of orderly liberty, that was of the essence of their loyalty to their country. Stein knew this; and it did not require a *Kulturkampf* to teach him, as Bismark later had to learn by experience, that any plans for German greatness must enlist the hearty loyalty of Catholics in Germany. Far from being a democrat in the later sense of the word, Stein knew that patriotism without popular self-expression, without spontaneity of national tradition, was a contradiction. It is hard for us to realize that at that period the official world of Germany and Austria was trying to build up strong state power at the expense of patriotism, and that Stein was almost alone in upholding what to-day would be almost anywhere an unquestioned political maxim, even with the strongest dictatorship.

So when the Congress of Vienna decisively defeated Stein's plan for a constitutional union of Germany, and when Stein's friend, the Czar, whom he had influenced against Napoleon at a crucial moment, now looked askance at him as suspected of Liberalism; when events were shaping for a later clash between reaction and radicalism—Stein retired from public life and devoted himself to the study of history.

The immediate motive of Stein's renewed attack upon history, was that his daughter Therese had reached an age when he felt she must be given a true perspective of the past. Dissatisfied with all presentations of national and religious history he had seen, Stein sought to equip himself to teach history to the group of children in his home, and that he might miss no avenue of knowledge, organized the *Gesellschaft*.

Savigny in 1814 had attempted a too ambitious plan, which failed, of a federation of coöperative historical societies. Stein had much earlier spoken to Goethe of his plan, but found Goethe at the time a little tepid.[33] Help was refused, or grudgingly or

[33] In Gothe's *Annals* for the year 1815, he mentions a journey made "in the flattering company of the State-Minister, VON STEIN" to Cologne, to make an architectural study of the unfinished Cathedral. When the *Monumenta* was ready to be launched, the great exponent of self-culture wrote to STEIN, offering to assist by working over historical material into

tardily given, by Prince-Bishops, by Ministers, by the King of Prussia and the Austrian Emperor. A letter from the Austrian envoy at Frankfurt, Buol, to Metternich, shows a rather grotesque refinement of political suspicion of the enterprise. Buol wrote: "It may well be that in view of Stein's well-known eccentricity, that this society has the secret purpose of proving historically that in the middle ages the German princes possessed no acknowledged sovereignty, and the inference to be drawn from this would be that the various diets or estates could lay claim to some rights hitherto usurped by princes." This incidentally perhaps reveals one of the sensitive spots in the conscience, not only of the reactionary diplomats and statecrafts of that day, but even later fear of discovering traces of justice in mediaeval institutions that have since been lost sight of.

It was quite as difficult to enlist the interest of scholars. Even Dahlmann later withdrew from the enterprise, on account of the Carlstad decree, alleging rather curious grounds; he seemed to feel that in some way he was, by his resignation, protesting against indignity offered to scholarship by the decrees.

Pertz had been discovered by Stein in 1822, after his attention had been attracted to the former's graduating thesis at Göttingen on the Merovingian Mayors of the Palace. In 1823 Pertz was put in charge of the *Monumenta*, and began work on the Carolingian chroniclers. The first knowledge of Stein which Pertz had had, was seeing his name in the notices of outlawry which had been posted by Napoleon's orders. The friendship was firm and lifelong between the assiduous scholar and the forceful patriot, based on a strong mutual admiration.

Pertz was assisted, especially in the earlier stages, by Jaffé, Böhmer, and Raumer. Böhmer's point of view is especially significant. He, like Stein, had been drawn to the study of history through patriotism, and "through the conviction that the true might lead to the good." He was convinced, where Stein was only troubled with occasional misgivings, that not only was lack of religion the greatest evil of the time, but that Protestant-

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metrical form. STEIN rather drily declined the eccentric suggestion. A rhyming chronicle was carrying even romantic historiography a little farther, no doubt, than nineteenth century requirements. STEIN hinted that GOETHE'S hexameters could be used to advantage in quite other connections.

ism was unable to construct society on a Christian basis.[34] Böhmer was introduced through his friend Klemens Maria Brentano, the Romantic poet, into a group of Catholics, and though Böhmer never became a Catholic in fact, he always remained Catholic in his sympathies and outlook. It is of interest to note that it was in 1818, about the time when plans were formulated for the *Monumenta*, that this same Brentano, the poet, who afterwards became Böhmer's friend, was converted to a life of zeal and piety as a Catholic; and it was in 1819 that Brentano began to interview Sister Catherine Emmerich with regard to certain meditations believed by some to have the character of revelation. Whatever may be the merits of the questions raised about Brentano's remarkable accounts of recastings of these visions or meditations, this does not affect the interest of the fact that Böhmer,

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[34] SEELEY, in his account of Stein's efforts on behalf of medieval sources, has a suggestive sketch of the successive attitudes taken in Germany toward the Catholic ages, from the dawn of the rennaissance. He refers to the collections under Emperor Maximilian as due to the discovery of Tacitus and Valleius, which fired the German imagination with racial pride in the fame of Arminius. The Reformation strengthened this feeling, and stimulated many collections besides that of Flacius, many with the hope that the Empire might lead the whole nation in the adoption of Protestantism, and in that hope, preparing a historic background for it, in the precedents of supposed independence and supremacy of the Empire over the Church. But the counter-Reformation was "an unexpected complication." Germany drifted slowly into the Thirty Years War, and the nation, after recovering from its ruin, lost all pride, and pleasure in its own history. This disgust toward the German past was intensified by the scorn of the "aufklärung," for the Gothic ages of Faith. Loyalty to the Empire withered without increasing zeal for Prussia as a new center. But when the last Roman Emperor in 1806 wrote his abdication, and the Empire was dead, a new spirit awoke. There were eyes that could see that which was of time only, perish, while the Church, built on the Rock of Peter, remained. It was the period of notable conversions. COUNT STOLBERG, FRIEDERICH SCHLEGEL, and ZACHARIAS WERNER among the rest, "This time," says Seeley, "Germany was not praised at the expense of the Papacy, but the Papacy was exhibited itself as the master institution of the Middle Ages..... the love of the dead and the love of the living combined.....STEIN joins hands with the Romantic School." Something similar was going on in England about the same time,—groups of men finding themselves drawing nearer and nearer the Catholic Church, yet seeking to try to explain and justify their various reasons for refusing her obedience. While the first work on the *Monumenta* was going on, in 1824, Edward Pusey came to study Oriental languages and German theology at Göttingen. Pusey returned to England, to become the lifelong champion of religious nationalism. Seeking to strengthen English religion by linking it to the Catholic ages, he, like Stein and some of his group, fell just short of an appreciation of the relation, historically, of the Christian nation to the Catholic Church.

whose research into mediaeval sources has been of the first importance, and who regarded Mabillon as his historiographical model, had his habitual associations in a circle in which supernatural faith was the very atmosphere.

Pertz tended to be dictatorial, and Jaffé[35] was inclined to quarrel with him; but a coöoperative spirit was always shown by Waitz, as well as by Böhmer. Ranke gave generous recognition to Pertz, as the leader of the enterprise. "Without your great work," he said, "I could never have attracted such a circle of young men to these studies." Stein also gave chief credit to Pertz: "My part was only to have helped."

For purposes of illustration and contrast we have several times introduced the name of von Ranke; but Ranke was not, it must be remembered, directly associated with the work of the *Monumenta* from the first, though his attitude toward the *Gesellschaft* was cordial and appreciative. Indeed, he stands out rather in contrast to the group that Stein had organized, as representing the continuity of the more classical traditions of historiography into the nineteenth century. His kinship is with Gibbon and with Montesquieu, in their preference for those aspects of human affairs that can best be treated with dignity and distinction, that lend themselves to a serene and detached style of historic presentation. It was this quality, as well as his great merits and his aloofness from party questions and his distaste for liberalism, that attracted to Ranke the admiration of court circles, and made him the official historian of Prussian and Austrian governments. Indeed, about the same time that Stein discovered Pertz, or shortly afterwards, Karl Albert Krantz, the "notorious hounder of democrats" for the Berlin government, discovered von Ranke and secured for him a post which enabled him to pursue his researches, not only with Prussian official patronage, but with the *entree* to Italian archives that Metternich's name could give him. As he was fully occupied on these officially-supported searches at the time Stein was launching his society, Ranke was necessarily dissociated from the despised and

[35] JAFFÉ, according to GOOCH, was a gifted young Jew, proud and temperamental. Disappointed in ambitions which evidently suggested his adoption of the Christian name in 1868, he died by his own hand in 1870. (*La Grand Encyclopédie*, vol. 20, pp. 1184).

ignored *Monumenta*—not through superciliousness or political snobbery, of which Ranke was incapable, but because his researches, being quasi-official, could hardly be involved with other work, however similar.

Furthermore, to Ranke, history almost exclusively was a study of the successive governments of mankind, of the variations and changes in the history of the State, of the leaders and the ruling classes. In this study he was thorough and impartial, aiming, as he said, "simply to find out how things actually occurred." But here also we can discern the difference between him and the philologists, the antiquarians, the folk-lorists, the students of organic law who made up the *Monumenta*. Ranke was occupied in studying governments and describing their various fortunes for the enlightenment of those who were in training for the creation of a super-state. To Savigny and Niebuhr, on the contrary, history was less a study of states and governments, and more a study of societies, and therefore of the more or less self-regulative social principles that out of common ethical recognitions, and out of stubborn group-contests, crystallized into laws. Savigny's great struggle, in his controversy with Thibaut, had been to prevent a premature codification of German law, as distinct from the fundamental organic law of Christian Europe, because he feared, with reason, the influence which the rationalistic interpretation of the doctrine of "natural right" might have on the codification. At the same time he was just as convinced that it was worse than folly to superimpose upon the German people systems of laws, such as the *Code Napoleon*, wholly foreign to their social history. Savigny's insistence on the historical study of positive law, and his distrust of the principle of "natural law and the law of nations" was due to the proved barrenness of the Cartesian philosophy as applied to "natural law," especially in the formulas and abstractions of Christian Wolff, who simplified the conceptions of Leibnitz. Thus, while the standpoint of Savigny and of Niebuhr, in one aspect, was seemingly a revulsion against the presupposition that underlay ancient Roman and Mediaeval law,—namely that all positive law is subject to a more fundamental natural law, which can act it aside;—yet, on the other hand, it was not a doctrinaire revulsion, categorically denying natural law and setting

up positive law as an ultimate authority. Rather, it was a refusal to accept the Wolffian interpretation of natural law; it was a rejection of natural law as looked at exclusively through Cartesian spectacles.[36] In view of this standpoint it is of interest to note that Savigny's marriage with Kunegunde, sister of Brentano, the poet, brought him into even closer personal contact with the Catholic Church than Böhmer, though his sympathy with the Catholic faith was less ardent and outspoken. Another contrast with Böhmer was that while the latter disliked Roman law, Savigny was in his day the greatest authority on the subject.

It is not difficult to discern a common bond between Savigny, Niebuhr, Böhmer, and other co-workers: Karl Wilhelm Humboldt, who brought the Basque language to scientific attention, thus stimulating investigation toward the prehistoric races of southern Europe (a contribution to science not unworthy of Alexander Humboldt, his greater brother); Jacob Grimm, whose name is as well known to children as to philologists, because of the collections of folk-lore tales made by his brother and himself in their researches into popular dialects and traditions; and because of the law of phonetic transitions known by his name, for

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[36] Philosophical rationalism of the Cartesian type is described in the Encyclopedia Britannica (11th Edition, "Rationalism") as based upon "Descartes' fundamental principle that knowledge must be clear," seeking "to give to philosophy the certainty and demonstrative character of mathematics from the *a priori* principles of which all its claims are derived." This rationalism is often confused with the rational aspects of Scholastic philosophy. But Scholastic philosophy does not insist that all knowledge be clear and demonstrable. Some knowledge it declared to be such, though its content be not clear, and though it be accepted on authority. Hence it is not hard to understand how students like Savigny—rejecting Cartesian rationalism as incompetent to prove its case, and not ready to accept authority in the scholastic sense,—would be compelled to disregard "natural law" as comprehensible only through study of positive law. Savigny did not reject the principle of "natural law," nor did he assert that there is no law that is not enacted or enforcible. He did insist that natural law cannot be elucidated by purely *a priori* methods, but only in connection with a careful study of positive law. In other words, a knowledge of man's natural rights depends upon a genetic study of human nature in the history of law. This is very typical of the *rôle* of Romanticism in modern criticism: both positivism and scholasticism were possible on its premises, and it was not ready for either. Students like Savigny, rejecting Cartesian rationalism as incompetent to prove its case, and not ready to accept authority in the scholastic sense, would be compelled to disregard "natural law" as comprehensible only as discerned in positive law. The serious difficulties which positive law presents to its defenders to-day, in absence of any theory of natural law, illustrate Savigny's dilemma.

which he secured general recognition; F. C. Schlosser, who,[37] though a popular writer of history and biography, and though not always exact in his presentations, endeavored to avoid errors arising from attempting to paint the past in contemporary colors, and who won the approval of Archbishop Dalberg for his correction of some biased passages in Gibbon; and Wilken, the historian of the Crusades.

Some might indeed wonder what Arnold H. L. Heeren,[38] the pioneer of history as written from an economic and financial standpoint, is doing in the same gallery with Raumer or Wilken, celebrators of the chivalry of old. Yet the links of affinity are discernible when we think of Savigny, of Grimm and Humboldt, and their keen intellectual interest in the common life of humanity; for such an interest cannot exclude the pressure of economic necessity and the attraction of economic opportunity from its purview, any more than it can ignore the visions and hopes and beliefs out of which alone the solid, everyday virtues can be woven, amid the limitations of economic conditions. Cervantes had set the smart world of the rennaissance laughing at the contrast between the grandiose gestures of the old chivalry, and the homely world of material fact and of proverb in which the peasantry lived. The joke began to lose some of its zest after three hundred years, and thoughtful men realized that the world would be better off for a little more of Don Quixote's sincerity, and a little more of Sancho's simplicity and fidelity; and that what might be left of these virtues, both among the masses and among gentle traditions, had best be preserved and treasured. Who can blame patriotic Germans of that period for dreaming

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[37] J. F. H. Schlosser is the only actual Catholic among the group most actively engaged on the *Monumenta*. He was received with his wife in 1814. Goethe alludes to them affectionately and with high esteem in 1821 (*Autobiography and Annals*, Vol. II, p. 478, Bohn's translation). F. C. Schlosser was the historian mentioned above.

[38] PERTZ himself had studied under Heeren at Göttingen, and it was the former's graduating thesis that attracted Stein's attention to Pertz. Stein was an expert in economics, and there may have been a reflection to Stein's practical knowledge, for Stein was, if a Romanticist, one of a volitional, not a sentimental sort. Of all writers of fiction Stein seemed to have a special contempt for Scott, whom he calls a "tiresome twaddler....who conceives the facts wrongly and feebly and narrates them diffusely." Buckle is the first British historian to view history under the economic aspects first employed by Heeren.

that in a strong and united Germany, fortified with a thorough and accurate knowledge of its own past, the flower of Christian strength and virtue might bloom once more?

The motto of the title-page of the Monumenta expresses its motive: *"Sanctus Amor Patriae Dat Animum."* Thus the motive that drove the undertaking to its success, that sustained it through its difficulties, is to be found in patriotism, and in a certain conviction as to the direction in which the sources of Germanic greatness are to be found; namely in those Christian ages when "Empire" was interpreted, not in terms of massive force, but as a symbol of law and justice and right, a symbol of that self-mastery that is better than the capture of a city. We have noted before that the Germany of Stein's vision never was realized, for the Renaissance doctrine of force and craft created a situation with which the mediaeval Empire failed to cope; and the Germany that later in the nineteenth century dominated Europe, was a Germany that more reservedly than any other power, rejected the mediaeval doctrine of right, and built upon the Rennaissance doctrine of force.

Furthermore, this strong patriotic interest, in spirit and method, deliberately rejected the tradition of partisan historiography begun by the "Magdeburg Centuries"; and it emphatically repudiated the "Aufklärung," with its unhistoric cosmopolitanism. The tradition that was deliberately adopted and followed by these Protestant patriots is the tradition of the Catholic scholarship of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; of of the Jesuits and Benedictines of Belgium and France. It was necessary for them to make this selection or rejection since they were in earnest in seeking to discover the organic, vital secret of German national life.

Stein, by promoting the *Monumenta*, started the nineteenth century on the trail of the secret of Christian society, the vital principle of Christian nations. His patriotism was not the patriotism of the ruthless imperialisms of the later fullblown industrialism; it was loyalty to the nation as an integral part of a true internationalism, Christendom. Because the motive of the *Monumenta* was sound, because its method was sound, it will always be what its title purports, a permanent milestone, with no uncertain direction, on the road to knowledge.

The nineteenth century followed the quest fitfully and distractedly, and never plucked out the heart of the mystery of Christian society. But, if the German historical schools were misled by animistic vitalism; if the Tractarians (largely through the deceptions of social and nationalistic traditions) were repeatedly thrown off the trail; if the various cults of romantic mediaevalism were weakened by the fundamental misgiving that the materialist world might, after all, be the real world, or if they were vitiated by the domination of pagan philosophies; if the sincere attempts of historians to understand the Christian past were thwarted continually by the insistent pressure of modernity in favor of its own smug claims of general superiority to all past ages, as though all students of the past were rightfully subsidized to sing the praises of the present—all this was not because the secret of Christian social health was too cunningly hidden to be discovered. The Catholic Church, which cradled Europe reborn within her from antiquity, is still accessible to investigation and study. Indeed, her very vitality, her unavoidable contemporaneousness, her proximity gives occasion to a superficial familiarization with her external aspect on the part of her neighbors, that is more estranging than if by distance or by recondite antiquity, she could at least pique curiosity. If she could die, the Church would gain much romantic devotion of the useless sort. Because she lives, she is ignored and tolerated with a fitful impatience. Even Stein was seeking in the past that which he was not ready to recognize in the present.

The Catholic Church has system, but her secret is more than can be plumbed by mechanics; she is an organism, but her secret is more than can be discovered in biology; and she has a philosophy of the soul, but her secret is more than can be traced in psychology as psychology is being defined to-day. It can be learned only by that very personal and spiritual act, obedience.

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## MATILDA, COUNTESS OF TUSCANY

Matilda of Tuscany, the strong right arm of the Papacy, by the power of whose might the Church was to emerge free and chaste from the slough of simony, concubinage and slavery in which it had become mired, was born in Tuscany of the Margrave Boniface of Tuscany and of Beatrice daughter of Frederick of Lorraine. The paternal ancestors of Matilda had always been faithful vassals of the German kings, while the maternal aunt of Beatrice was the wife of Conrad and the mother of Henry III. Because of the fidelity of Boniface, when all Italy was in revolt, Conrad, in making Tuscany an hereditary fief at the time of Boniface's marriage with Beatrice, had provided that failing male issue, the marquisate should revert to Beatrice. Two sons were born to Beatrice but died in youth. When Boniface was assassinated in 1052, Beatrice became Margrave of Tuscany with the right of succession for her daughter Matilda. Her dominion, as far as we can learn, included Tuscany, Modena, Mantua, Reggio, Spaleto, Parma, Lucca, Genoa and Nice.

Little did Conrad reck when he decreed this departure from the ordinary law of inheritance that by this change he was placing the key to the possession of Italy in the hands of a woman, who, though in her veins flowed the blood of the royal house of Germany, was destined to be hailed in her own and in future generations as the Great Italian. Still less did he think that against Canossa in Tuscany the forces of his grandson, Henry IV, were frequently to storm, never to prevail. Least of all did he conceive that the Lady Mistress of Tuscany would receive at Canossa the royalty of Germany, not as lords and masters, but as penitent suppliants. Under God's providence, however, it was so to be. Tuscany was to be the one impregnable barrier against the wrath of German greed and lust for power, and in an age resplendent with such characters as Gregory VII, William the Conqueror, Robert Guiscard, St. Peter Damian, St. Anselm and The Cid, no character was more firm, more resourceful, more resolute, than that of Matilda of Tuscany. Union with her was a guarantee of victory; opposition to her an assurance of defeat. In history she is resplendent with the re-

flected glory of a Gregory VII, but to reflect the glory of a Gregory demands a soul diamond pure and the light if less dazzling is more entrancing because broken by the softening influences of a noble woman's soul.

No more can we appreciate the spread of the infant Church in the first three centuries without some knowledge of the power of pagan immorality and superstition against which it was compelled to struggle, than we can understand the ensuing fifty years conflict upon which Matilda was about to embark without some knowledge of the position of the Church in the eleventh century, the abuses of the times and the reforms initiated by Gregory. Never since the day when the Twelve, confident in the promise, "I am with you all days," stepped forth from the chamber of the Cenacle to conquer the world, had the Church then established been beset with greater difficulties. The decrees of Constantine had brought her forth from the Catacombs and the grants of Pepin and Charlemagne had established her secure, a power among the nations of the earth; but this prosperity was not unalloyed. In time benefices came to be sold by temporal Lords and the Bishops and Abbots thus invested sold the minor offices of the Church to the highest bidder. The Shepherds of the flock of Christ, many of them at least, had come to be men characterized by greed and sensuality. Simony and concubinage had dimmed the "light of the world" and had taken from the "salt of the earth" much of its savor. The Church was in agonizing struggle with the cancer of lay-investiture. To remedy this apparently mortal disease was the aim of the reform party under Hildebrand and first they would rid the Church of the cancerous root, lay-investiture.

Of Matilda the warrior maid, the ruler and the judge, the gracious chatelaine of Canossa we have some knowledge from a contemporary chronicle written in rude Latin verse by Domnizo, a monk of Canossa. Of Matilda the woman, of her personal joys and sorrows, we know little, for on these points Domnizo is strangely silent. The year of Matilda's birth was 1046. She was thus twenty-six years younger than Hildebrand, and four years older than her cousin, debtor and implacable enemy Henry IV. For the times, her education was indeed strange. Under the tuition of Arduino della Palude she learned to ride like a

lancer spear in hand, to bear a pike as a foot-soldier, and to wield both the battle-axe and the sword. German, French, Latin, Provençal as well as her native Italian were well spoken by her. She received instruction in the fine arts, as well as in the fundaments of Jurisprudence and Theology. Her mother, a second St. Margaret of Scotland, taught her by word and example the corporal works of mercy. Together they visited the sick, relieved the poor and incidentally planted in the hearts of the Tuscan peasants that devotion and loyalty that were to cause them to rally to the standard of Matilda in the hard-pressed days of the future.

The youth of Matilda was not less singular than her maturer life. At the age of nine she was probably a prisoner with her mother in Germany. A year later she was released and the succeeding six years were years of peaceful study. Canossa became a centre of refinement and hospitality. Here from the lips of the future Pope Hildebrand, from Gerard Bishop of Florence, Anselm Bishop of Lucca, and her maternal uncle Frederick of Lorraine, (later Pope Stephen IX) Matilda learned the woes under which the Church labored and the plans for reform of these ardent apostles of Christ. The intrepid soul of the maiden yearned for the courage and the liberty of a man that at the head of her troops she might ride forth to battle for the right. The conferences of Hugh, Abbot of Cluny, and the burning words of St. Peter Damian fanned this flame into a passion. Nor was her passion to be denied. Ere four years had elapsed she was to don the armor of a man and at the head of her troops commence that campaign against the foes of the Church that was to end only with her death.

In 1061, when but fifteen years old, Matilda defeated the forces of the antipope Honorius III on the borders of Tuscany, and following him to Rome, in two days had forced him to raise the siege and withdraw to his diocese, there to await the decision of a Council upon his claim to the Papacy. Shortly after, in conjunction with the Romans, she attacked the Normans who had invaded Apulia and Campania. After nineteen days arduous fighting at Aguino, the valor and skill of Matilda carried the Norman entrenchments, and the young leader was accorded a triumph on her return to Rome. But she had won freedom for

the Church at the price of her own liberty, for her step-father, Godfrey, had consented to the expedition to Rome only on condition that she marry his son. Nothing could have been more repugnant to the beautiful, virile girl than this union with Godfrey the younger, surnamed the Hunchback. Better, however, her own subjection than that the Bride of Christ should be subject to secular Princes. Soon after the marriage Godfrey left her and was assassinated at Antwerp in 1076, the very year in which Beatrice, valiant mother of a still more valiant daughter, died, leaving Matilda at the age of thirty with many vassals, immense wealth and half Italy under her sway. No wonder that when her period of mourning was at an end Princes sought her hand and amongst them were the Emperor of Constantinople and Robert, eldest son of William the Conqueror. To the Princes of the earth she would not listen. To the Church she had dedicated her life, and to her vow she remained faithful until the peril of the Church again demanded the sacrifice of her liberty.

In the year 1073 Hildebrand became Pope and the reform of the Church moved swiftly. Bishops and Priests guilty of simony or transgression of the rule of celibacy were suspended while the donation or reception of ecclesiastical investiture by lay hands was anathematized. Loud sounded this clarion call for a Church free, chaste and Catholic. So stirring was it that many of the Bishops declared that the decree was impossible of enactment. Because of his defiance of these decrees, Henry two years later was excommunicated, suspended from the exercise of all royal power, and his subjects were absolved from their allegiance to him.

A seeming accident now gave to Canossa its greatest claim to renown. Gregory, on his way to Augsburg in the winter of 1076, to confer with the German Nobles about the deposition of Henry, learned that Henry, fearful of losing his kingdom, had undertaken the terrible journey over the Alps in the dead of winter to implore in person release from the ban of excommunication. Gregory, at the instance of Matilda, fell back upon Canossa. The accounts of Canossa and its infamous pilgrim are as numerous and as varied as the authors who have written of it. Certain it is however that Gregory at the entreaty of Matilda consented to receive the King who in tears threw himself at the

feet of the Pontiff and begged absolution from the sentence of excommunication. Gregory reversed the sentence of excommunication and admitted Henry to communion with the Church on the condition that Henry appear before the Imperial Diet at Augsburg and submit to its decision, otherwise the absolution from excommunication would be null and void.

Release from the sentence of excommunication freed Henry from his terrors. His attempt to entrap the Pope in the Marches of the Po was foiled by Matilda. Henry then barred the passage of the Alps and rendered the Diet of Augsburg impossible. To the election of Rodolph of Suabia as King of the Germans and Gregory's confirmation of the election, Henry replied by deposing Gregory and appointing Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, as Pope Clement III. Down from the north swept the forces of the antipope under the command of Henry's son. One grand assault on Canossa and he hoped to wipe away the memory of his father's shame by the destruction of the hated citadel. Elated by the death of Rodolph on the Elster and a victory over Matilda at Volta, the cry, "On to Canossa," swelled from the ranks of the invaders. Success was imminent. Naught between Clement and St. Peter's but a woman's undaunted soul. Little they knew of the heart of their foe. "Who shall find a valiant woman? Strength and beauty are her clothing and she shall laugh in the latter day." Stripping her monasteries of their treasures she hurried troops to Rome with seven hundred pounds of silver and nine of gold. Unable to meet Henry in the field, for four years she hung like a falcon on the flanks of his army, fighting unceasingly, ever and anon when hard pressed, retiring to the triple-walled fastness of Canossa, which easily defied the fierce onslaughts the terrible hate of the Germans hurled at its walls. Details of her masterly generalship are lacking, "but," says Domnizo, "were we to recount all her noble deeds of arms, our verses would outnumber the stars."[1] Florence fell, and Lucca, and all Lombardy joined with the rebels. In the Spring of 1084 Rome too was taken and Gregory, a Prisoner in San Angelo, heard that Guibert had been consecrated in the Lateran and

[1] "Singula si fingam quae fecit nobilis ista
Carmina sic crescant, sunt ut numero sine stellae." (DOMNIZO). Cf. VILLEMAIN, *Hist. Greg. VII.* p. 269.

Henry crowned in the Vatican. It was the darkest hour of Gregory's life.

Succor came to the imprisoned Pope from an unexpected quarter. Robert Guiscard hurrying from his war in the East against the Saracens, took Rome and released Gregory who retired with him to Salerno. The Pontiff was now over sixty years of age, worn with worry and privations, but his vigorous will and undaunted spirit seem to have passed into the soul of Matilda. Alone, unmindful of self in a debauchery of greed, she faced all Germany and trusting in Providence maintained the unequal struggle. Modena was laid waste and Sobara besieged. Apprised of the peril of her city, Matilda at night with the flower of her men-at-arms approached the besiegers. The cry of "St. Peter, help thine own" rang out and they fell on the unsuspecting Germans. The camp, tents, horses, baggage, and arms fell into the hands of Matilda and the army that had four years before swept down on Italy for the destruction of Canossa, was no more, due to a woman's vigorous faith.

The Victory of Sobara must have been the last good news that Gregory heard. He died in the following year, May 25, 1085, with these words on his lips: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile,"[2] words which seem to be the epitome of his life and the cause of all the bitterness he endured. With his parting breath the great Pontiff sent his last blessing to Matilda, hoping that at length God would "give peace to the daughter of St. Peter and faithful servant of Christ."

The succeeding months were to prove that if the gauntleted hand of the Countess could deal death, that hand unsheathed knew not how to refuse assistance to the needy. Famine, flood and pestilence visited the war-devastated regions of Italy decimating cottage and castle indifferently. Chroniclers of the time call it the "scourge of God to punish the schismatics,"[3] for only those regions were spared that had remained loyal to Matilda. Her itinerary during the next few months is a recital of the Corporal Works of Mercy. The people were fed, churches, schools, hospitals and convents were erected; roads, bridges and

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[1] MANN. *Lives of the Popes of the Middle Ages.* vol. 7, p. 168.
[2] DUFF. *Matilda of Tuscany*, p. 183

dikes repaired. In concert with Anselm she administered justice to friend and foe. Prosperity returned and at length peace reigned in the land of Tuscany. Matilda retired to Canossa where she assembled a brilliant court in which warriors, artists, poets, jurists, and men of distinction in all branches of literature and learning were made equally welcome. By skilful arbitration she induced Pisa and Genoa to lay aside their mutual animosity and combine against the Mohammedan pirates. The Crusaders landed at Tunis, defeated the Saracens and brought back the Christians detained there as slaves.

In 1089 affairs nearer home demanded her attention and tested her devotion. Urged by Urban II, Matilda though forty-three years old, married Guelph of Bavaria, a youth of eighteen, thus erecting against Henry a barrier stretching from the northern confines of Bavaria to the center of Italy. The marriage was most distasteful to Matilda but by this conquest of the "woman" in her she gave perhaps the greatest proof of her devotion to the Church.

Henry was sorely troubled by the marriage. "Having been ten years out of Italy," writes Domnizo, "he once more armed men and horses and swore to remain seven years in Matilda's lands without giving a thought to peace."[4] The capture of Mantua placed the Marches of the Po in his power. Town after town fell into the hands of Henry. Then came the crisis. Henry offered to compromise. War-worn Tuscany demanded that at least his offer be considered. Perhaps the piteous supplications of her people worn with twenty years continual strife, perhaps her own spirit weary and without the vigorous councils of Gregory to sustain it induced Matilda to consent and a debate between the two parties was appointed for Carpineta. There Matilda would put to the doctors and theologians the question: "Was it lawful to accept the proposed condition and purchase the peace of the Church by acknowledging the antipope Guibert?" Herbert, Bishop of Reggio, opened the debate. Suavely he spoke of the horrors of war and the blessed beauty of peace. Bishop succeeded Bishop and in like manner spoke each one. The main issue was skilfully avoided. No mention was made of de-

[4] DOMNIZO, *Vita Mathildis celeberrimae principis Italiae.* lib. 2, c. 4.

posing Urban II, yet this was the one thing that Henry demanded of them.

Great stress has been laid and rightly by all historians on the pilgrimage to Canossa, but second in importance only to Canossa is the Council of Carpineta. Here was a turning point in the campaign of Gregory. Had the principles of Herbert prevailed, the reform of Gregory had been stifled in its infancy, the Church plunged into a renewed debauch of simoniacal licentiousness, and the civilization of Europe retarded for centuries. At the crucial moment when it seemed as if the emissaries of "peace at any cost" might prevail, up rose John, Abbot of Canossa. Like the John of old, he thundered, "It is not right." Short was his speech but truthful, and his audience listened enthralled. His eyes glittering with heaven-born love he concluded: "Lady! There is no middle course possible. May God forbid my tongue from uttering such abominable deceits,—even more your mind from receiving them."[5] At his ending as at a signal, Bishop and Knight with sword aloft thundered forth the cry, "Death, rather than a peace so ignominious." The rafters answered the cry and the hills re-echoed it sending it pealing down the valley to Monte Bello, where both armies lay in armed neutrality. The siege was instantly renewed. Henry made a feint of retiring to Parma but turned aside to surprise Canossa; "remembering," says Domnizo, "the ills he had suffered there when he stood barefoot in the cold and snow, he deemed that an opportune moment had arrived to avenge his wrongs."[6] Under cover of a fog the defenders made a sortie from Canossa, threw the camp of the attacking force into confusion, which Matilda coming upon from the rear precipitated into a rout. Henry's standard was captured and taken to Canossa where it was dedicated by Matilda to St. Apollonio and hung in the church. Henry tried to recuperate his fortunes and attacked Nogara. Overcome by the forces of Matilda he beat a hasty retreat leaving his baggage and all his treasures behind, again driven by the courage of Matilda back to Germany whence he never again returned to harass Italy.

The hour for which Gregory had longed and which Carpineta

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[5] FIORENTINI, *Memorie della gran contessa Matilda.* lib. 2, p. 251 sq.
[6] DOMNIZO, lib. 2, c. 7.

had made possible had now arrived. At Clermont Urban announced the danger that threatened Christendom and the first Crusade was inaugurated. To this Matilda contributed seven thousand men collected from her cities of Parma, Cremona, Modena, Reggio and others. Too aged to lead them herself she stood by the side of the Pope at Lucca as he blessed their departure. Two years later her heart was rejoiced with the news that Jerusalem had been taken and that her first husband's nephew, Godfrey of Bouillon had been chosen to rule the Holy Land, he who refused to wear a crown of gold where the King of kings had worn a crown of thorns.[7] In 1099 she assisted Roger of Sicily in driving Guibert from Rome and in installing Pascal in his See. This done she retired to order her estates in Tuscany.

The Countess was now fifty-five years old but still vigorous and retaining much of her youthful beauty. Knowing by her experience as judge the value of a just Code of Law, she founded a Law School at Florence and commissioned Irnerius to revise the Code of Justinian. Under her hands the chapel at Canossa became the pride of all Italy. The Baths of Florence and of Pisa were restored by her. Abbeys were enriched and churches beautified. In the midst of such labors she was constant in her attendance at the courts of justice. The poor, the orphan and the victim of oppression found in her the heart of a kind judge, a generous patron and a loving mother. In the year 1102 she renewed the donation of all her possessions to the Holy See.[8] The remaining years of her life were spent in Tuscany and Lombardy. The convent of San Benedetto was her favorite home during the greater part of the year where in peaceful study she assisted the monks by her advice and money in the work of copying and illuminating manuscripts. As a proof of her love for this abbey she bequeathed to it her own vast collection of valuable manuscripts.

Upon the news of her illness at Monte Baranzone in the year 1113, the Mantuans seized this opportunity to rebel. The re-

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[7] MIGNE, *Patrologia*, vol. 155, (Assizes of Jerusalem c. 1).
"Il ne volt estre sacré ne coroné à roy el dit royaume, por ce que il ne volt porter corone d'or la ou le roy des roys Jesu Crist le Fis de Dieu porta corone d'espines."

[8] DE MONTOR, *Lives of Popes*. p. 307.

bellion was like a tonic to her aged frame. "The time has come at length," she said, "when Mantua must perish. This iniquitous city shall pay the price of the affronts it has offered me."[9] Though almost seventy she determined to lead her troops in person. The appearance of the Countess was sufficient for the Mantuans. Hastily they besought pardon. For three days they begged in vain. Finally her heart relented and she was received in triumph by the inhabitants into the city.

This last effort proved to be too much for her. The fever returned. Her resolute spirit however insisted on assisting at midnight Mass Christmas, 1113, and on the following Epiphany. This was her last Mass at San Benedetto. In the arms of her maids, suffering much, she was carried back to Bondeno and never again rose from her couch. For seven months she fought against the disease. Sick though she was, her confessor could scarcely induce her to forego the rigorous fast of Lent. She had a premonition that she would die on July 15, and says Bacchini, "She took for her protector in those last days and for the terrible passage across the river the Apostle St. James, whose feast occurs on that day." As Holy Viaticum was administered to her on that day by Bonsignore, Bishop of Reggio she prayed: "My God, Thou knowest how in all the days of my life I have reposed perfect confidence in Thee, and now that I have reached the end I pray Thee to save me and to receive me into Thy kingdom."[10] As the lips of the dying woman touched the crucifix for the last time she exclaimed: "Lord Christ! because I have always loved Thee, I pray Thee now forgive me my sins,"[11] and almost immediately she breathed her last. As she had wished she was buried at San Benedetto, but never have mortal remains been so frequently disturbed. Three times her tomb was opened; in 1445 in the presence of Guido Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, and of Abbot Eusebius and his monks; again in 1613 when the Bishop of Casale at the command of Cardinal Gonzaga opened it to prove that the body was still there; finally in the year 1630 by the Abbot Ippolito at the bidding of Urban VIII, when it was removed to Rome and placed subsequently in a marble sarcophagus in St.

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[9] DOMNIZO, lib. 2, c. 14.
[10] *Idem, De Insigni Obitu Mathildis*, ll. 109-110.
[11] *Ibid.*, l. 107.

Peter's. What interests us is the fact that at each translation reliable witnesses affirm that "the body was beautiful and supple as of one a short time dead."[12]

Among the saints, statesmen and warriors who championed the cause of the Church during the age of reconstruction, if the name of Hildebrand is pre-eminently first, few will be found to contest second place with her who embraced in her person the characteristics of all three, Matilda of Tuscany. The recital of her activities joins the initiation of the reform begun by Hildebrand under Nicholas II in 1060 with the culminating triumph of the same by the Pactum Calixtinum in 1122. Alexander II, Gregory VII, Victor III, Urban II and Pascal II owed the possibility of their coronation, the authority of their Pontificate and whatever of freedom their reign enjoyed to the unswerving allegiance of her who wrote in her letter: "Matilda, si quid est."[13] In campaigning, the prototype of the sainted Maid of Orleans, her campaigns were longer by eighteen years, and lacked the confidence-begetting assurance of the latter's heavenly voices; in statesmanship the rival if not the equal of St. Catherine of Sienna; in love of Christ's poor extending her mercies beyond those of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, relieving the ills of unworthy rebels as well as the needs of devoted vassals, even by her influence obtaining for her enemy Henry IV burial in the Cathedral of Spires by the side of his wife Bertha. Intimate acquaintance with Aristotle and Plato, versatility in languages, mastery of Law, Civil and Canon, knowledge of Scripture and the liberal arts, assiduity in collecting and illuminating manuscripts, energy in building and beautifying schools, churches and libraries mark her as a citizen rather of the thirteenth than of the eleventh century. In all these works, one motive was hers, devotion to Christ and to His Mystical Body. Nor did her devotion lack the element of sacrifice, without which devotion becomes complacent philanthropy. A reign of forty years had demanded of her the willing sacrifice of body, mind, peace, vassals, possessions and treasures for the welfare of the Church, and two marriages, loveless and regretted, had crowned the oblation.

The language of her contemporaries is praise almost to the

[12] DUFF, *op. cit.*, p. 279.
[13] MIGNE, *Patrologia*, vol. 163, col. 458.

point of exaggeration. Anselem of Lucca "hoped for a great reward in heaven for having kept guard over one who was ready not only to sacrifice all her worldly possessions for the defense of justice, but to shed her blood for the glory of the Church."[14] Domnizo wrote of her: "... she carried little children in her arms, supported the needy, surpassed Priests in the love of Christ and was assiduous night and day in sacred offices.....She never forgot to observe useful laws...Prosperity did not change her nor did misfortune disturb her. Judgment and Wisdom walked with her in all her steps.... The honor and glory of Italy descended with her into the grave."[15] Her purity of soul is manifested in a letter from her spiritual advisor Gregory VII, "I am desirous, beloved daughter of St. Peter, to send you a few words of edification which may increase your faith and lead you to strengthen your soul by a daily participation of the Sacred Body of Our Lord Jesus Christ."[16] To the great Tuscan of a succeeding century and native of her beloved Florence there appeared on the borderline of Purgatory and Paradise by the banks of the River Lethe a beautiful woman singing and gathering flowers, typifying the union of the active and the contemplative life, and to her Dante gives the name Matilda, thus placing the great Countess next after Beatrice herself. It is thought that in Clorinda, the warlike virgin baptized by her conqueror on the field of battle, Tasso intended to portray the Mistress of Canossa. Canossa is now a mere shell but the spirit of its grandeur endures, and to this day visitors to the ancient ruin may hear from the lips of the peasants of the mountains legends of the grand "Contessa Matilde."

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[14] VILLEMAIN, *Hist. Greg. VII*, p. 290.
[15] DOMNIZO, *De Insig. Obit. Math.* ll. 24-41.
[16] *Epis. Greg. VII*, lib. 1, Ep. 47. Apud MIGNE, vol. 148, col. 328.

# MISCELLANY

## ST. NORBERT AND THE TANKELIN HERESY.

In the beginning of the twelfth century the Church was able to free itself of the galling slavery imposed by the princes of the German Empire, and to rise triumphantly from the fierce struggle of the investiture. Under the guidance of divine Providence Pope St. Gregory VII had commenced his reform of the Church and had gradually brought about a much-needed change, so that at last a wholesome and vigorous Catholic spirit again prevailed. The profoundly religious people of the Ages of Faith had for a long time been violently tossed about on the winds of passion and error. A revived paganism was threatening the very existence of the Church by the substitution of false ideals. Two great plagues were afflicting the Church from within: simony, or the sale of ecclesiastical offices and benefices to unworthy men; and, a consequence of this first evil, Nicolaism, or a manner of living among the clergy which was entirely out of harmony with the sacredness of their state of life. Both evils are the logical effect of the meddling by secular princes with the God-given rights of the Church.

While the Church thus seemed to fail in its task of sanctifying the people, reformers arose who by the severity of their lives strove to counteract the evil influence of luxury and sensuality to which such large numbers of the clergy had fallen subject. Many of these reformers were evidently not sent by God. For their ideas ran counter to the traditional beliefs of Christendom. These self-styled apostles and pseudo-reformers frequently propagated most impious doctrines and the grossest of errors. These errors were often gathered from heretical teachers of the early Christian ages. False conceptions about the Christian mysteries were propagated in the philosophical considerations of Roscelin and Abelard; and the errors of Manicheism were put forth in a new dress.

The Cathari had played havoc with Catholicism in southern France during the eleventh century. Their pernicious principles had penetrated into northern France, Belgium, Holland, and Germany. In Cologne, and in Liège, the "Apostolicals," as they called themselves, had attacked the hierarchy, the sacraments, and the veneration of the Saints. The Petrobrussians, named after Peter Bruys, rejected the hierarchy, the sacramental system, the Mass, the Cross, and the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

All these heresies were anti-sacerdotal. They denied the validity of holy orders and priestly ministrations. The sins of some of the clergy were the occasion of a fatal generalization, which led to the condemnation of the priesthood itself by these false reformers of faith and morals.

These ideas gained strength during the struggle of St. Gregory VII against the crime of simony. Wherever ecclesiastical offices were sold to

unworthy persons, the question arose about the validity of priestly orders and re-ordination. Opinions on this matter did not agree. Peter Damian, quoting St. Augustine, maintained that the sacramental grace was independent of the sanctity of the minister, and declared valid the orders administered by a simoniacal bishop. Others, largely swayed by passion and self-interest, condemned such orders as null and void.

The heretical teachers taught that the value of the sacraments depends on the holiness of the priests. They even went so far as to call all priests unworthy and immoral, and, consequently, their sacraments of no value. Starting from these false principles, they came to deny the reality of Christ's presence in the Eucharist.

These ideas we find in the system of Tankelin.

Tankelin appears about 1110 A. D. in the diocese of Utrecht, (Netherlands). Later he preaches in Zeeland and Flanders, and makes Antwerp the center of his heretical activity. In Louvain also he propagates his errors. Robed in a monk's habit, he enters the private homes and tries to gain proselytes among the women. Through them he gains a hearing among the men. Finally he gathers sufficient courage to appear in public. An able and enthusiastic orator, he soon has many followers. Surrounded by a body-guard of armed men, and preceded by a banner-bearer, he holds processions through cities and towns.

The religious conditions in Antwerp, a growing commercial city, as well as in the surrounding district were extremely sad. Ecclesiastically this part of Belgium was at that time subject to the diocese of Cambrai. This episcopal see had been vacant for many years, and numerous parishes were without a pastor. In Antwerp and the four surrounding villages there was only one priest, and his conduct was not beyond reproach. It was easy for a false teacher to find followers among the spiritually neglected population. Surrounded by armed men Tankelin addresses these people, and by the boldness of his eloquence leads many of the faithful astray. So far did the fanaticism of his followers go, if we may credit certain sources, that they drank the water which the heretic had used for his ablutions, and considered it as an infallible remedy against all kinds of diseases.

Tankelin knew also how to exploit the credulity of the ignorant. One day he took the hand of a large statue of our Lady, and pronounced the words of the espousals. Then he cried out to the superstitious crowd that he was betrothed to the Blessed Virgin, and that money was needed to prepare for the celebration of the coming marriage. Two boxes were placed on stands in front of him. The women were told to put their contribution in the box to the right, and the men in the box to the left. "I want to know," he exclaimed, "which of the sexes loves me and the Virgin more." Historians inform us that the credulous crowd gathered about the contribution stands, and that the women contributed generously their jewelry to the preacher. Thus the seducer knew how to remunerate himself for his labors.

Tankelin has been accused of gross immorality. This seems entirely in harmony with the Manicheistic tenets of his heresy.

The principal supporters of Tankelin were Manasses, a blacksmith, notorious for his criminal conduct; and Everarcar, an apostate priest. Accompanied by these two men Tankelin made a pilgrimage to Rome in 1113. According to a report of the Cathedral chapter of Utrecht he tried to bring about the separation of a part of Belgium from the diocese of Utrecht, to which it was subject, and to join it to the diocese of Terenburg. Possibly he journeyed to Rome to obtain for himself the episcopal authority in this region. No particulars are known about his trip to the Eternal City; but upon his return he stopped in Cologne, and was seized by the archbishop of this city and placed in prison. The chapter of Utrecht had informed the metropolitan of Cologne about Tankelin's impious activities, and now they requested not to let the impostor escape to continue his nefarious work.

Was Tankelin brought before the court and condemned? We do not know. The legislation of those days did not inflict capital punishment on heretics except on rare occasions, when the people clamored for such a sentence. The death-penalty for heretics was contrary to the ideas of St. Bernard, who advocated the conversion of non-Catholics "gladio verbi, non gladio ferri," by the sword of the word, not by the sword of steel. St. Gregory VII and other theologians, following the principles of St. Augustine, permitted the imprisonment of heretics, but not the penalty of death.

After some time Tankelin escaped from prison, and wandered about again in Flanders. But the ardor of his followers had waned, and his preaching was discountenanced by the better class of society, probably on account of his misdeeds. The inhabitants of Bruges drove him out of their city. Godfried, count of Antwerp and Louvain, gave orders to arrest him. Roaming around for a while, he was compelled to flee to Holland where, according to some historians he was murdered in 1115.

The heretical system of Tankelin has a certain resemblance to Manicheism which was more or less current on the continent of Western Europe in those days. But the fundamental principle of Tankelin's sect was the invalidity of priestly orders. The heretic boldly asserted: "The Pope is nobody; the archbishops and bishops are nobody; priests and clerics are nobody. The Church is I and my disciples." Churches and chapels, he declared, are places of fornication and brothels. The Mass and the sacraments are empty ceremonies. He denies the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist. The most sublime rites of Christianity he calls "things handled by corrupt men, things not holy, but unholy and invalid." The principle advocated by him is that the Mass and the sacraments derive their value, not from Christ, but from the sanctity of the minister. By a false generalization he concluded that all priests are untrue to their sacred calling and unworthy representatives of Christ. He preached that Holy Communion is of no profit to the soul, and exhorted the people to stay away from the sacraments. He forbade the paying of tithes to the clergy.

Priests are criminals and have no right to support from the people. This doctrine found favor with some secular rulers of the day on account of the disputes between ecclesiastical and secular authorities about the right to demand tithes from the people.

Finally, Tankelin claimed divine honors for himself. If Christ is God, because He possesses the spirit of God, so is Tankelin, because he had received "the plentitude of the spirit."

Tankelin had died, but Tankelinism was still living. The provinces of Flanders, and especially Antwerp, were contaminated by its foul breath.

Burchard, the new bishop of Cambrai, tried to restore religion and morality among his flock. He sent some priests to Antwerp under the leadership of Hidelfons. These priests were stationed at Antwerp in the church built by Godfried of Bouillon before his departure on the crusade. They worked faithfully among the Christians who had remained loyal to the Church in the midst of the heretical chaos created by Tankelin. But very few of those that had strayed returned to the true fold of Christ. Provost Hidelfons humbly confessed to his Bishop that his efforts were largely unsuccessful.

The zealous bishop was not discouraged. He was determined to root out immorality and heresy in his diocese and to bring Antwerp repentant to the feet of Christ.

Bishop Burchard had met Norbert in former years at the court of the German emperor. He had heard of his wonderful conversion and his successful missionary journeys. He knew that the see of Cambrai had been offered to Norbert before the election of the present incumbent.

Norbert had recently founded his order in the deserted valley of Prémontré. New houses had been established at Laon, Floreffe, and Cologne. Norbert was known as a zealous and eloquent preacher in lower Germany and in northern Europe. He had especially gained renown as an ardent lover of the Mass of the Blessed Sacrament, the most favorite subject of his popular discourses. Norbert seemed to be the man of Providence to eradicate the errors of Tankelin.

Bishop Burchard acquainted Norbert with the lamentable state of things in western Belgium, and invited him to go to Antwerp, and to use his eloquent word and apostolic zeal for the restoration of the Faith in the diocese of Cambrai. He offered Norbert the church of St. Michael in Antwerp as a new Norbertine foundation.

No doubt Norbert knew the heresy of Tankelin, and had met the followers of the heretic on his apostolic journeys. He gladly accepted the invitation of Bishop Burchard. With twelve disciples he came to Antwerp, established a community of his Order in the church at St. Michael, and began his spiritual campaign against the errors of Tankelin. His companions were learned men, graduates of the University of Paris and of the Academy of Laon. Among them were St. Evermund, later Bishop of Raceburg in Germany, and Blessed Waltman, the first Abbot of the new abbey.

In 1123 Norbert arrived in Antwerp. His reputation as an orator had

gone before him. The Antwerpians were anxious to see and hear the famous preacher. The saint found the church crowded upon his arrival. The people were curious to hear what he would say. His ascetical features, his white habit, his clear and charming voice,—called by St. Bernard "a celestial flute"—impressed them deeply. But it was his personal holiness that gave him the supernatural power of awakening emotion and arousing conviction in the hearts of his hearers.

In the life of Norbert by Blessed Hugh of Fosses we find a few words of the first sermon delivered by the Saint in Antwerp. "Brethren," he said, "I am aware that the ignorance of truth, rather than the love of error, has been the principal cause of your abandoning the true religion. If truth had been announced to you, I know you would have followed it with as great eagerness as that with which you followed error. You will suffer yourselves to be saved willingly through our ministry."

Instead of censure and reproach Norbert combined the gentleness of persuasion with the force of conclusive logic. No invectives, no controversy, no personalities, no threats; but in everything charity and kindness. He realized that the Church of God cannot be built up on the ruins of charity.

Norbert's example was followed by his disciples. Their sermons produced a profound and lasting effect. Even the most ignorant could not fail to see the great difference between the preaching of Norbert and that of Tankelin. While the latter had appealed to the passions, to violence and invective, Norbert made an urgent appeal to the noblest aspirations of the human soul. His irreproachable conduct added authority to his words. Consequently it was easy for the most prejudiced and illiterate to see on which side was the truth.

Antwerp soon bent its head in shame. Striking their breasts with deepest sorrow the people came and knelt at the feet of the missionaries to receive pardon from Almighty God. "Men and women," observes Blessed Hugh, "purified their souls by a sincere confession and brought back the sacred Hosts they had sacrilegiously profaned. Within a short time the entire city seemed transformed. Never before did the faithful assist at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with more genuine piety.

The famous abbey of St. Michael, founded on this occasion by Saint Norbert, continued his work until the time of the French Revolution. Recently at the invitation of Cardinal Mercier the Norbertines of Averbode have established a new convent in the city which owes so much to St. Norbert.

Blessed Waltman became the first Abbot of St. Michael's. Burning with zeal for souls, and faithful to the precepts of his spiritual Father, he sent forth his priests to the neighboring towns and villages, where in the course of a few years the erroneous doctrines of Tankelin were completely rooted out.

When Norbert left the city of Antwerp in 1124, his departure was greatly regretted by all. The people proclaimed him the apostle of the Blessed Sacrament and the restorer of the Faith in their city. Out of

gratitude they placed several beautiful windows in the church of Notre Dame, representing the triumph of St. Norbert over Tankelin. They also inscribed under a tableau in one of the chapels of this basilica these memorable words:

"Quod Amandus inchoarat,
Quod Eligius plantarat,
Willibrordus irrigarat,
Tanchelinus devastarat,
Norbertus restituit."

"What Amandus had prepared,
What Eligius had planted,
Willibrord had irrigated,
Tankelin had devastated,
Norbert has restored."

GREGORY G. RYBROOK, D.D., Ord. Praem.

# CHRONICLE

The University of Oxford is holding a vacation course in the History of the Middle Ages "designed for teachers of history and others, at home and abroad, who make a serious study of history."

The idea of the course mainly is to bring the students into personal contact with representative historical scholars. The number of lectures will not be large, nor will they be popular or general in character. The managing-editor of the *Catholic Historical Review* plans to attend, and in a future issue will discuss the course.

The lecture programme is:

PART I.

"How Mediaeval Chronicles were made" (4 lectures).—Reginald Lane Poole, M.A., Litt.D., LL.D., F.B.A., Fellow of Magdalen, Keeper of the Archives, University Lecturer in Diplomatic.

"Charlemagne" and "Gregory VII."—H. W. Charles Davis, M.A., formerly Fellow of Balliol and of All Souls, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester.

"Frederick Barbarossa" and "The Emperor Henry VI."—Austin Lane Poole, M.A., Fellow at St. John's.

"Church and State in the Middle Ages."—A. L. Smith, M.A., LL.D., F.B.A., Master of Balliol.

"The Rise of the English Parliament."—J. G. Edwards, M.A., Fellow of Jesus.

"The Development of English Industrial Organization in the Middle Ages."—E. Lipson, M.A., New College, University Reader in Economic History.

"What is meant by the saying that the Bible is the text-book of the Middle Ages?"—F. M. Powicke, M.A., LL.D., formerly Fellow of Merton, Professor of Mediaeval History in the University of Manchester.

"The Age of Dante."—Cesare Foligno, M.A., Queen's, Serena Professor of Italian Studies.

PART II.

"Monasticism and Labour: mainly a study of rural life in mediaeval England and of monastic relations to it" (6 lectures).—G. G. Coulton, M.A., Litt.D., Fellow of St. John's and University Lecturer in History, Cambridge.

"The Italian City-State."—Miss M. V. Clarke, M.A., Fellow of Somerville College.

"Franciscan Studies."—A. G. Little, M.A., Balliol.

"The Hundred Years War."—R. B. Mowat, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi

"Wycliffe and Reform Movements."—K. N. Bell, M.A., Fellow of Balliol.

"The Principles of Commercial Policy in Mediaeval England."—E. Lipson, M.A., New College, University Reader in Economic History.

"The Architecture of Mediaeval Oxford."—E. H. New, Hon. M.A.

Members of the Vacation Course are invited to a demonstration and inspection of apparatus at the School of Geography.

Arrangements will also be made for inspection of mediaeval objects of interest in the Ashmolean Museum, Bodleian Library, and other collections.

Mr. E. H. New will conduct parties to see architectural features of the City and the Colleges.

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The Summer School of Catholic Studies to be held at Cambridge from August 4 to August 9 will be devoted entirely to the study of St. Thomas Aquinas and the course will aim to furnish a general introduction to his life, times, and teachng.

MONDAY, AUGUST 4.

6.30—Sermon in the Church, followed by Pontifical Benediction given by His Lordship the Bishop of Northampton, President of the School.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 5.

10.00——"An Introduction to the Summa Theologica," by the Rt. Rev. H. L. Janssens, O.S.B., Bishop of Bethsaida; Member of the Roman Academy of St. Aquinas.

5.30—"The Pontifical Edition of the Works of St. Thomas Aquinas," by Fr. Peter Paul Mackey, O.P., of the Editorial Board.

8.30—"The Life of St. Thomas," Lantern Lecture by the Very Rev. Fr. Bede Jarrett, O.P. (Provincial), M.A.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 6.

10.00—"Aristotle and his Philosophy," by the Rev. R. Downey, D.D., of the Catholic Missionary Society.

11.00—"St. Thomas's use of Aristotle," by the same.

5.30—"The Liturgical Poetry of St. Thomas," by His Lordship the Bishop of Clifton.

8.30—"Dante, the Poet of St. Thomas," by E. Bullough, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Gonville and Caius College.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 7.

10.00—"The Moral Philosophy of St. Thomas," by the Rev. M. Cronin, D.D., M.A., M.R.I.A., Professor of Ethics and Politics at University College, Dublin.

11.00—"The Social and Political Philosophy of St. Thomas," by the same.

8.30—"St. Thomas and the Reunion of Christendom," by the Very Rev. Fr. Bede Jarrett, O.P.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 8.

10.00—"St. Thomas and Modern Thought," by the Rev. F. Aveling, D.Sc., D.D., University Reader in Psychology, University of London, King's College.

(1) Natural Science.

(2) Psychology.

5.30—"The Ascetical and Mystical Teaching of St. Thomas," by the Rev. A. B. Sharpe, M.A., of the Catholic Missionary Society.

A million dollars for the restoration of France's architectural treasures, notably the Rheims Cathedral wrecked by the Germans in the war, which is specifically named, has been given by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., that the "patrimony of all nations" and "source of inspiration of universal art" may not decay and die, the French Foreign Office has announced.

The donation equals 18,500,000 francs. It is entrusted to a Franco-American committee charged with replacing the roof of the historic Cathedral and restoring the gardens of Versailles and Fountainebleau, and made up of the following: Jules J. Jusserand, French Ambassador to the United States; Gabriel Hanotaux, former French foreign minister; Col. H. H. Harjes, the banker, and Welles Bosworth, architect.

Mr. Rockefeller's donation came as the result of a visit to the great medieval art treasures of which France is custodian, after which he declared himself shocked at the threat of time to destroy these monuments to art and devotion, which it seemed impossible to keep up because of the war and post-war difficulties. He expressed these sentiments when he wrote Premier Poincaré, telling him of his determination to help. M. Poincaré, deeply touched, has accepted the proffered aid as a "witness of your unswerving friendship for France and your admiration for her architectural glories, which belong, as you so well say, to the artistic patrimony of the whole world."

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In the new public library building at Rotterdam, the home of Desiderius Erasmus, are being displayed more than nine hundred volumes of his writings and related works. His *Silva Carminum*, Gouda, 1513, one of three complete copies known, is exhibited, as well as nearly every known edition of the famous *Laus Stultitiae* (In Praise of Foolishness).

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The Heralds' College recently granted to the Abbot and Convent of Ampleforth (a well-known Benedictine Abbey and College in England) the arms formerly borne by the Abbot and Convent of Westminster. Canon Westlake of Westminster attacked in the *Times* this action of the Heralds' College. The Canon says he does not doubt the succession from Feckenham, last Catholic abbot who was executed by Henry VIII to the present Abbot of Ampleforth, but he suggests that the grant is unjustifiable, because it "seems tantamount" to the ignoring of, or to a protest against, the act of the Crown in dissolving Westminster. The origin of Canon Westlake's anger perhaps appears in his final paragraph: "Will the next act be the granting of the arms of the older English sees to Roman bishops?" To which the *Universe* replies: "Canon Westlake should know that the 'Roman bishops' have scrupulously avoided, out of courtesy, occupying any of the older sees. The Anglicans have not shown this courtesy, but have gratuitously taken titles already held by us, to the great inconvenience of everybody, including themselves. And, writing about arms, what right, we should like to ask, has the Archbishop of Canterbury to bear the Pallium in his coat? Is that, too, a grant of the Crown?"

Says the New York *Times Book Review* (May 18):

> What promises to be one of the greatest publishing ventures of all times will have its beginning in June with the publication by Alfred A. Knopf of *The Principles of Social Organization*, by the late W. H. R. Rivers, M.A., M.D., D.Sc., LL.D., F.R.S., of St. John's College, Cambridge. This will be the first of a series of upward of 200 volumes to be published under the general title, *The History of Civilization*. Other volumes already announced are *Language*, a Linguistic Introduction to History, by Professor J. Vendryes of the University of Paris; *The Earth Before History*, by Professor Edouard Perrier, honorary director of the Natural History Museum, Paris; *Prehistoric Man*, by Jacques de Morgan, late director of Egyptian antiquities; *A Geographical Introduction to History*, by Professor L. Febvre of Strasbourg; *From Tribe to Empire*, by A. Moret, director of the Musée Guimet; and *The Diffusion of Culture*, by Professor G. Elliott-Smith, author of *Elephants and Ethnologists*. The volumes of the great French series, *L'Evolution de l'Humanité*, will be used as a nucleus and translated as they appear. The entire series is under the editorial direction of C. K. Ogden, M.A., of Magdalen College, Cambridge.

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The priceless collection of books and manuscripts begun by the elder J. Pierpont Morgan, and added to by his son the present J. Pierpont Morgan, ceased to be a purely private library when, in the early days of February it, together with the building in which it is housed, and an endowment of $1,500,000 for its upkeep, was turned over to six trustees who were appointed to administer it as a public reference library. Access to the collections is to be restricted to research students and persons qualifying by a special interest in the treasure of manuscripts and rare editions. The New York *Times of February* 17, gives "a summary of the principal material in the collection and .... probably the nearest approach to a catalogue of the library that has ever been made public."

### Manuscripts.

Illuminated manuscripts dating from the sixth to the sixteenth century, 530 volumes.

Holograph manuscripts of the works and correspondence of American, English and Continental authors, 905 volumes.

Signed holograph letters and documents (unbound), about 7,000.

Coptic illuminated manuscripts of biblical and liturgical texts, originating in Egypt, from the eighth to the tenth century, 60 volumes and numerous fragments.

Greek and Egyptian papyrus (single leaves), originating in Egypt, dating from the third century B.C. Formerly known as the Amherst Collections, with additions.

### Printed Books.

Incunabula—Books printed on the Continent before 1500.

Books printed at the Aldine Presses in Venice and elsewhere, from 1495 to 1598.

Liturgical works—Bibles, Testaments, Psalters, missals, Prayer Books, hours, offices, &c., dating from the inception of printing (c. 1450-55).

English literature dating from its first printing in 1475.

American history and literature.

Books remarkable for their rare armorial or other distinguishing bindings, dating from fifteenth century; also examples of the work of famous binders.

### Drawings.

Original drawings and wash-studies by masters of the Italian, French, English, Dutch, Flemish and German schools, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century.

### Etchings.

Original etchings by Rembrandt van Rijn, his pupils and schools, in various states of the plates.

### Mezzotints.

Original mezzotints from the invention of the art in 1642 through the nineteenth century.

### Babylonian and Assyrian Inscribed Seals and Cylinders.

### Cuneiform Inscribed Tablets.

Originating in Babylonia, dating from the third milennium B. C.

(Note—The major part of this collection is now on loan at Yale University).

### Coins and Medals.

Gold and silver Roman and Greek coins, English and American historical coins and medals, Italian bronze medals and plaques (now on loan at the Numismatic Society, New York).

### Additional Autograph Manuscripts.

Marie Antoinette—Autograph letters written during the last years of her life to the Count Mercy-Argenteau.

Victor Hugo—"Journal de Pexile." 2 vols.

Emile Zola—"Nana," in 3 volumes. The only Zola manuscript not in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.

Georges Sand—"Les Dames Vertes."

Alexander Dumas—Portions of "Le Vicomte de Bragelonne."

Keats—Manuscript poems, letters &c., also the original portrait of him, made by Severn in Rome. This portrait is authenticated by an autograph letter of Severn stating that it is "the only one I have made from the life," &c.

Boswell—Letters to Temple, from 1758 to 1794.

Dickens—"The Cricket on the Hearth"; "The Battle of Life"; "Hunted Down"; "A Holiday Romance"; "Sketches of Young Gentlemen"; and, with Wilkie Collins, "The Frozen Deep."

Scott—25 Volumes of his Novels, Poems and Letters.

Lamb—"A Dissertation Upon Roast Pig," and Letters.

Thackeray—Complete manuscript and all original drawings for "The Rose and the Ring," "The Virginians," "Denis Duval," "Lovel the Widower," and many original sketches.

George Meredith—"Diana of the Crossways," "The Amazing Marriage," "Lord Ormont and His Aminta."

John Stuart Mill—"System of Logic" and "Principles of Political Economy."

Thomas Moore—"Lalla Rookh"; the orignal draft, the final manuscript as sent to the printer, and proof sheets revised and corrected by him.

Nelson—Draft of a will made by him in December, 1802, signed "Nelson & Brontë"; this draft was probably used by himself and his attorneys as a basis for his final will of May 10, 1803.

Emma, Lady Hamilton—Letter (1806) to George IV., when Prince of Wales, enclosing a lock of Nelson's hair.

Campbell—"Life of Mrs. Siddons."

Johnson—"Life of Pope."

Mrs. Thrale Piozzi's "Anecdotes of Dr. Johnson."

Benvenuto Cellini—Letters concerning the casting of his "Perseus."

### American Writers (Additions).

Edgar Allan Poe—"Annabel Lee"; "Ulalume." Portions of his first poem, "Tamerlane," "Dr. Tarr and Mr. Featherstone," "Hans Phall," &c.

Walt Whitman—Poems and Letters.

Thoreau—Journal in 32 pamphlets, also 14 volumes of Poems, Letters, Essays, &c.

Hawthorne—"The Blithedale Romance"; "Dr. Grimshaw's Secret"; "Feathertop"; also Journals, Notebooks and Letters.

WHITTIER—Collections of Poems and Letters.
HOLMES—"Autocrat of the Breakfast Table."
LOWELL—"A Year's Life."
BRET HARTE—8 volumes.
KIPLING—"Captains Courageous" and corrected typewritten manuscript of "The Brushwood Boy" and Poems.

### HISTORICAL.

GEORGE WASHINGTON—Volumes of his correspondence with George and James Clinton, Laurens, Jefferson and others, also a six-page letter to James Madison dated Mount Vernon, 1792, asking Madison to prepare "a valedictory address from me to the public," and giving his idea of what such an address should embody, and letters (1794-96) addressed to the King of Prussia and Emperor of Germany, asking for the release of Lafayette.

LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS (2 vols.) concerning the campaign of Yorktown, signed by Washington, Cornwallis, Laurens, Greene, Lafayette and others.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN—Autograph Letters and Documents and poem, "The Bear Hunt."
GROVER CLEVELAND—Autograph Letters and Documents.
THEODORE ROOSEVELT—Manuscript of his Autobiography.

### ADDITIONAL ILLUMINATED MSS.

The Gospels of Mathilda, Countess of Tuscany, written and illuminated between the years 1055 and 1115.

Bestiary written and illuminated in England at about 1170.

Leaves from a "Bible Moralisée" written for and containing the Portraits of Blanche of Castile and her son, Louis ("St. Louis"), about 1230.

Bestiary written and illuminated in Persia, dated 1291 (one of the earliest known, if not the earliest).

The Huntingfield Psalter; manuscript written and illuminated in England about 1170.

The "Windmill" Psalter—England, about 1280.

The Tiptoft Missal—English, about 1332.

Over 200 French Bibles, Psalters, Gospels and Service Books, dating from the VIII to the XVII century, include the "St. Louis Bible," the only known complete manuscript of the Bible, in French, of the XIII century; "Mont St. Michel" Missal of the late XI or early XII century; the "Limoges Gospels" of the XII century; the "St. Louis Psalter" of the XIII century; 10 manuscripts of "The Romance of the Rose" of the XIV century; and the "Paternostres d'Anne de Bretagne" containing her portrait and, on every page, her initials. Among the Flemish manuscripts are the

Prayer Book of the Emperor Charles V, containing his portrait, arms and special prayers, and the Breviary of Eleanor, Queen of Portugal (1472-1525), ascribed to the ateliers of Hans Memling and Gerard David. This manuscript is closely related to the Grimarie Breviary of St. Mark's Library at Venice, and may possibly antedate that famous manuscript; 4 manuscripts of Dante's Divine Comedy of the XIV century. The Greek manuscripts date from the XI century; the Armenian from the VIII to XVII century.

### Coptic Manuscripts.

The larger part of this collection, consisting of over 60 volumes and fragments, was discovered in the Spring of 1910 by a group of Arabs digging on the site of the ancient Monastery of the Archangel Michael, on the border of the province of Fayum, in a small locality known as Hamouli, and was purchased by Mr. Morgan in 1911.

They range in date from the IX to the X century, about 20 of them being dated from 823 to 914 A. D., some of those undated being undoubtedly earlier.

The copyist's notes, with which many of the manuscripts terminate, state that they were either written for the Monastery of the Archangel Michael or transferred to it from some other Fayumic Monastery.

A number of manuscripts contain full page pictures in red, yellow, green and brown, depicting such scenes as the Annunciation; the Virgin and Child; St. Michael and the Dragon; Martyrs, Saints, Anchorites, &c.; and very often a large Calvary Cross of interlaced design, the spaces between the arms being decorated with sacred monograms or symbolic animals.

### Incunabula.

The extensive collection of Incunabula, comprising books printed before 1500, includes the only specimen in America of the earliest dated piece of printing, the Indulgence, dated 1453, of Pope Nicholas V, issued to such persons as should contribute money to aid the King of Cyprus against the Turks; the first printed book, the so-called Gutenberg or First Bible, printed at Mainz before 1455 (of which the library has copies on vellum and on paper), was not dated.

Of far greater rarity than either of these two, however, is the Great Psalter printed at Mainz by Fust & Schoeffer, successors to Gutenberg, the first book to bear a date (1450); the Morgan copy, printed on vellum, is the only one in America.

First or early editions of Block Book editions of the Biblia Pauperum, the Ars Moriendi, Cantica Canticorum, Apocalypse of St. John, Speculum Humanae Salvationis, &c.

Examples of the press of Laurens Coster of Haarlem, who for a long time was credited with the invention of printing.

First and early editions of the Greek and Latin classics, early Church Fathers, Romances, &c. The first edition of Dante (1472) is the only complete copy known; the Cicero of 1465 (this copy on vellum) was the first book printed in Italy, and is of great rarity; the first complete edition of Aristotle, printed in Venice in 1483, consists of two large volumes on vellum. It is beautifully illuminated by a contemporary Florentine artist, and has been described in the Burlington Magazine, 1906, as "the most magnificent book in the world"; the Augustinus printed by Jenson in 1475, also on vellum, has elaborate painted borders, miniatures and initials. The first dated Livy (1470) has similar decoration.

The first (1482) edition of "The Romance of the Rose" is so rare that it was unknown to bibliographers until recent years; this copy is generally accepted as being the finest in existence.

The collection of over 500 volumes from the Aldine Presses at Venice is second only to that formed by Lord Spencer, and now the property of the John Rylands Library at Manchester, England.

William Caxton, the first English printer, is represented by the largest number of books from his press in private hands, and includes such rarities as the only perfect copy known of the first book printed in the English language, the "Recuyell of the Hystoryes of Troye," printed by Caxton at Bruges in 1475; the only known copy of the first edition in English of Sir Thomas Malory's "Morte d'Arthur," printed by Caxton at Westminster in 1485; an "unique" copy the earliest English service book, the "Hours for the Use of Salisbury," printed by Caxton in 1477.

There are in the collection sixty volumes from the press of his successor, Wynken de Worde, who took over Caxton's types and continued traditions.

There are numerous historiated initials and heads, busts or full figures of saints in the margains.

A large proportion of the manuscripts were still in their original bindings when found.

The collection presents a comprehensive view of the contents of an Egyptian (Christian) monastic library in those early times. With the exception of the biblical manuscripts, which may have been intended for private reading, or for reading in the individual monastic cells, they were all to be read in church, either as part of the service proper or for the edification of the public.

It is the largest and oldest collection of complete Sahidic manuscripts in existence. The Edfu collection, which stands next in rank, consists of but twenty-three manuscripts, twenty-two of which are in the British Museum and one in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

Every page of the "Hamouli" manuscripts has been reproduced in photographic facsimile, and a set consisting of fifty-three volumes deposited in the leading library of each country, four such sets being reserved for li-

braries in the United States; the originals being preserved in the Pierpont Morgan Library.

The Catholic University of America has had very close relations with the Morgan Coptic Collection which has had the services of Very Rev. Dr. Hyvernat for an extended period through the courtesy of the Right Rev. Rector whose interest in books, particularly the rare specimens, and manuscripts is universally known.

Dr. Hyvernat is Professor of Semitic and Egyptian languages at the Catholic University of America and is co-editor with Drs. Chabot, Guidi and Farget of the Catholic University of Louvain of an Oriental Patrology—*The Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* whose purpose is to publish all Christian writings extant in Syriac, Arabic, Coptic, and Armenian. He is assisted at the Catholic University by Dr. Arthur Adolphe Vaschalde, and Dr. Romanus Butin, S.M., his associate professors in the Department of Semitic Languages and Literature.

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A centenary of deep significance, celebrated recently in Rome, was that of the Gregorian University.

On May 17, 1824, Pope Leo XII signed the Brief restoring to the Company of Jesus the direction of the Roman College erected in 1551 by St. Ignatius of Loyola, which had received great benefits from the Pontiff, Gregory XIII.

In that Brief the Pope recorded the ancient glories of the College, and, after having re-established its rights and privileges, he made provisions that its future might be rendered most fruitful in doctrine and sanctity for the good of the Church and of Christian society.

The events justified the hopes of the Pontiff. One century after the date of its restoration it had become an atheneum of true glories.

Up to 1870 it comprised all the superior and inferior schools; it had courses from the first elements of Latin grammar to philosophy and theology. After the occupation of Rome the College was obliged to abandon its old seat; in 1873 the faculties of philosophy and theology were transferred to the vicinity of the Borromeo Palace to which, in 1876, was joined the faculty of Canon Law.

In its new seat the Roman College, or as it was now called, the Gregorian University, shows marvelous development. In 1895 its students had reached the number of 1000. During the war, of necessity, this number was diminished, but newly increased during the year 1922-1923: this year the number was 1139.

This university belongs to every nation of the world; it is truly an International Catholic University. The Sovereign Pontiff, Pius XI, addressing the professors and students in an audience accorded them in November, 1922, called it a true and magnificent representation of that Catholicity, of that university by which We are Father of all in the succession of Peter.

In the same discourse the Pontiff, who was a student at the University from 1879-1882, deigned to eulogize it still further by saying that it was

a "world center, a hearthplace of truth and of that science which is consecrated to God, to His honor and to the diffusion of His reign." The Holy Father also recalled "the great and splendid traditions continued therein by the work of so many illustrious men."

From the Gregorian University, even in the last century of its existence, have come men who have been decorated for science and letters. Among these illustrious men who have passed away are Perrone, Franzelin, Schrader, Palmieri, Mazzella, Patrizi, Corneley, Gury, Ballerini, Bucceroni, Tarquini, Wernz, Tongiorgi, De Maria, Remer, Secchi, Pianciani, Provenciali, Angelini, Valle and De Angelis.

Several of its professors have been decorated with the sacred purple: Cardinals Franzelin, Tarquini, Mazzella, Billot and Ehrle. Many of its one-time students have received high dignities of the Church: three have ascended the Chair of St. Peter: Leo XIII, Benedict XV and Pius XI.

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The consecration recently took place of the Most Reverend Alexis M. Lepicier, formerly Prior General of the Congregation of the Servants of Mary, as Titular Archbishop of Tarso. The consecrating prelate was His Eminence, Cardinal Van Rossum, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

Archbishop Lepicier has been appointed by His Holiness Pope Pius XI as Apostolic Visitor of the East Indies. In this capacity, the Archbishop will be concerned with all of the churches in Asia of the Latin rite with the exception of the establishments in China, Japan and Persia. The ecclesiastical provinces of Agra, Bombay, Calcutta, Colombo, Goa, Madras, Pondichery, Simla, and Verapoly, in addition to several prefectures-apostolic and vicariates are included in the territory assigned to the care of Archbishop Lepicier.

The new Archbishop is very well known in the United States. As general of the Servites he visited the houses of his congregation in this country and preached in a number of the larger cities. For a great many years he was professor of Dogmatic Theology in the Propaganda where he taught a large number of American priests who studied in Rome. Four of these former students were present at the consecration ceremonies. They were Rt. Rev. Andrew Brennan, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop of Scranton, Rt. Rev. Charles A. O'Hern, D.D., Rector of the North American College, Very Rev. Eugene Burke, D.D., Vice-Rector and Rev. Edward A. Mooney, D.D., Spiritual Director.

Archbishop Lepicier is the author of the entire theological course of commentaries on the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas. He is also the author of a number of books written in English, notably *Indulgences*, *Spiritism* and *The Fairest Flower of Paradise*. The new Apostolic Visitor is an accomplished linguist and is thus unusually well adapted to carry out satisfactorily the arduous duties of his high office.

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The Catholic University of America will start construction presently

on a new library building which, when completed, will rank with the finest and largest university libraries of the country. This announcement was made by Bishop Shahan, rector of the university, at the annual commencement, when degrees were conferred on 294 graduates.

The new library, when completed, will accommodate 1,000,000 volumes. It will be 150 by 207 feet, will be four stories high and will be constructed of the same fine stone and in the same style of architecture as the other buildings on the campus. It will stand to the north of the Apostolic Mission House, on the east side of the campus, and will complete a quadrangle, with the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, McMahon Hall and Gibbons Hall as the other sides.

As a "working library," that is, exclusively for library purposes, the building is expected to rank among the three greatest university libraries of the country. It will have elevators, book lifts and all the most modern equipment for buildings of its kind, and will be wholly fireproof. It will have an unusually large general reading room, with smaller reading rooms for undergraduates, postgraduates and seminarians. In addition, there will be the customary bindery, book repair department and exhibtion rooms for rare volumes and bindings.

For the present, work will be concentrated on the basement and ground floor, which, Bishop Shahan announced, is expected to be completed in a year. This section will be capable of accommodating between 400,000 and 500,000 volumes. At present the Catholic University library has about 250,000 volumes but limited housing facilities have kept them scattered.

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August will mark the second centenary of the death of Father Sebastian Rale, known in American missionary history as "the apostle of Maine." The annals of missionary heroism contain few names more notable than Father Sebastian Rale. He came to this country from France in 1688 and for a quarter of a century he labored as a missionary among the Indians. He gave his life for his work in August, 1724.

Father Rale was a type of the devoted pioneer missionary. He came to America to spread the faith of Christ among the aborigines. A student and a scholar, he gave up the pleasant life of teacher and a director of youth, to bear the hardships of missionary life in a foreign land. He won a martyr's crown for his fidelity to duty and his fearlessness in defending his charges from their enemies. But he also left a name in the history of a new nation, that will be remembered with gratitude two hundred years after his death.

Father Rale's efforts to convert the Indians led innumerable souls to God. But they were also productive of other benefits which should not be forgotten on his centenary. His deep study of the language and customs of the Indians made his works an authority on these subjects even to-day. He wrote one of the earliest dictionaries in an Indian language, the manuscript of which is still preserved at Harvard College. His Indian

Catechism and translations of prayers are still in use among the Indians of New England.

Father Rale came to America with that intrepid pioneer Frontenac. He was born at Pontalier, France, in 1654. He became a Jesuit, and was a teacher for a time before joining Frontenac's party to America. He took up his work among the Abenakis of Maine, first in the mission on the Kenebec and eventually establishing his headquarters at Norridge wock, where he built a church.

His little town was subjected to repeated attacks. In 1705 his church was burned and he and his converts escaped only by flight. About 1714 a bitter dispute broke out between the Indians and the British, which resulted in open warfare in 1721. Father Rale on account of his loyalty to his Indian charges was the object of repeated attacks, but always managed to escape by flight. However in August 1724 a superior force swept down upon the town and caught the inhabitants unawares. Father Rale with fifty braves barred the road in order that the others might escape by flight. He was shot down and cut to pieces with seven Indian warriors at the foot of a cross.

The career of this devoted missionary and intrepid pioneer was filled with storm and strife. History has distorted many of his actions and misinterpreted some of his motives. But two hundred years after his death he is still remembered by the people of Maine as one who voluntarily gave his life for the extension of Christ's kingdom on earth, and won a high place in the history of a new nation by his pioneer efforts in laying the foundation of civilization in the new world. He is one of the great personalities of the Catholic Church in America.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Readings in English Social History, from Pre-Roman Days to A. D. 1837.** Edited by R. B. Morgan, M.A., M.Litt. Cambridge, at the University Press: 1923. Pp. 585.

This splendid volume in five parts of about equal length contains the extracts—chiefly from contemporary writers—which were included in the five-volume edition published in 1922. The editor aims to give a reliable picture of English life in all its fullness throughout the centuries: mode of living, food and clothing, recreations, banquets, burials, marriages, laws and customs, education, trade and commerce, manufacturers, methods of fighting on land and sea, institutional development, court life, and so forth. Wisely in an effort to tempt students to explore the sources, Mr. Morgan has selected his excerpts from editions readily available and carefully given citations. An appendix further identifies the author and book quoted. Many illustrations add to its merits. It is a volume which will please all teachers of English history, and one which might well be used in college classes as a companion volume to some substantial political text-book.

Book One ends with the year 1272. Strabo, Diodorus, Caesar, and Tacitus furnish the translated extracts for the Roman period. From the chroniclers, especially William of Malmesburg, Mathew of Westminster, Henry of Huntington, Peter of Blois, Roger de Hoveden, Richard of Devizes, and Thomas of Eccleston, much is drawn for the Anglo-Saxon and Norman period. Beowulf, Bede, Asser, Colloquies of Alfred, Roger Bacon, Fitz-Stephens' *Thomas à Becket* are quoted along with excerpts from Benjamin Thorpe's collection of *The Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, the Domesday Book, and the Magna Charta. Book Two completes the story of the Middle Ages and its extracts suggest light rather than darkness. The student will learn of Rymer's *Foedera*, Hone's *Manor and Manorial Records*, the *Black Book of the Admiralty*, *Account Rolls*, *Court Rolls*, *Letter Books of London*, John Stow's *Chronicles of England* and *Survey of London*, Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*,

Hakluyt's *Voyages*, Hollinshed's *Chronicles*, Froissart, the Paston Letters, Chaucer, Langland's *Pier the Plowman*, as well as of the writings of the modern constitutional scholars Maitland and Stubbs. The passages in addition to making the Middle Ages real can hardly but add to the student's appreciation of the period in which England's constitution was so largely developed, the influence of the Church, and our historical reliance on the chroniclers.

Book Three covers the Tudor dynasty. The chief sources used are Camden's *Britannia*, George Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*, Bishop Nicke's (1514) *Visitation of Norwich*, an *Italian Relation of Henry VII*, Sir James Melvin's *Memoirs*, and the "Vision" of the Holy Maid of Kent. There is little on the Reformation and less on Johnson, Shakespeare and the playwrights The footnote on page 241 is hardly just in suggesting that Bishop Fisher and More would lend themselves to make use of the deceptions of the Maid of Kent, and incidentally one wonders that More's *Utopia* is overlooked. From it one can deduce much concerning English social life. Other than an extract from Latimer's sermon, the Reformers are given little attention. It does seem that the modern period is not given the relative space which its importance would warrant.

Book Four (1603-1688) introduces the student to Paule's *Life of Archbishop Whitgift*, the Millenary Petition, an occasional pamphleteer like Stubbes the Puritan and Petty the economist, *The Counterblast Against Tobacco*, the dedication of the authorized version of the Bible, State Trials, George Fox's Journal, Fuller's *Worthies of England*, Clarendon's and Burnet's histories and the writers of diaries and memoirs—Pepy's, Evelyn, Count de Gramont, Ludlow, and Mrs. Hutchinson. One misses some of the constitutional documents, but as they are in the compilations of Adams and Stephens and Gardner, the editor can justify himself in hewing so close to his line. Nor does he venture into the field of literature, assuredly a mine for social history of authentic sort.

The Revolution and the Hanoverians are covered by the excerpts of Book Five. Sufficient are the gleanings taken from their writings to acquaint the reader with Lord Macaulay, Adam Smith, John Wesley, Boswell, William Cobbett, Addison, Thomas

Creevey, Washington Irving, Defoe, Lamb, Walpole, and Samuel Smiles among others. And these excerpts should tempt teacher or student to wider reading.

R. J. P.

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**England Under Henry III. Illustrated from Contemporary Sources.** By Margaret A. Hennings, M.A. (University of London Intermediate Source-Books of History, No. V.) London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1924. Pp. xiii + 281.

In this source-book, judiciously compiled and well-edited, Miss Hennings gives us a volume that measures up to the high standard set by earlier contributors to the same series. With but few exceptions the extracts are taken from printed books, a course made possible by the wealth of English historical material in print; Matthew Paris, the *Annales Monastici*, Stubbs's *Select Charters*, and the *Royal Letters of Henry III* provide much of the collection; but some, and not the least interesting sections, are from manuscript sources.

After a brief and admirably clear account of the materials relating to the reign of Henry III the work is divided into four books. The first—Political, (pp. 1-146),—gives a picture only slightly disconnected of the outstanding features of the reign. In conjunction with the second book—Constitutional, (pp. 147-217),—these passages are adequate for the construction of an outline of the story of England from 1216 to 1272. Here, too, can be gleaned details that throw light on the life and manners of the time. Take, for example, this sentence regarding Simon de Montfort's knights at Kenilworth: "This was why they left the castle: they chose to go out for baths so that, rising from their beds at daybreak comfortably bathed, they might because of the baths bear themselves more sprucely for battle on the following day and in the town they could have a greater abundance of vessels for bathing than they could well have in a castle." Was not 1265 one of the thousand years during which, we have been told, nobody in western Europe took a bath?

Book III—Ecclesiastical, (pp. 218-248),—is composed of excerpts dealing with the general condition of the Church and with

learning and education. This would be improved, in the judgment of the present writer, had more use been made of episcopal registers and had the Calendar of Papal Letters been drawn on. There seems no reason for including here the selection about Margaret Biset, governess to Henry's sister Isabel. Of the fourth book—Social and Economic, (pp. 249-268),—the chief criticism that comes to mind relates to its brevity; and even this criticism must be tempered with the admission that Miss Hennings is right in having informational selections outnumber interpretative passages. It is interesting, but hardly important, to learn that to even so pious a sovereign as Henry III Lenten fare proved monotonous. One who wearies of protracted cold weather has a fellow-feeling for the thirteenth-century king who ordered painted over a fireplace "a figure of Winter, made the more like Winter by its sad countenance and other miserable attitudes of the body."

On p. 77 the date 15 June should read 16 June—"the fifth day after the feast of Blessed Barnabas." The index is ample, and insofar as I have tested it, accurate. The book will prove a most serviceable aid to those who wish to learn somewhat of England in the heart of the thirteenth century.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

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**The Times of St. Dunstan.** (The Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in the Michaelmas Term, 1922). By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., F.B.A., Dean of Wells. New York: The Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1923. Pp. 188.

The seven lectures printed in this volume are devoted to tracing the origin and progress of the religious movement that is inseparably interwoven with the political history of England in the tenth century. After an introductory lecture recalling the state of affairs in the days of King Alfred and explaining his position in regard to the various recensions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the author deals with the four men who stand out preeminent in the period: Athelstan, Dunstan, Ethelwold, and Oswald. It is not of Athelstan's wars that he tells us, but of his accession and early years and of his interests as a collector and

donor of manuscripts and relics. Dr. Robinson makes use of "the lecturer's privilege of being discursive" and lingers on topics that are of interest to himself; thereby placing his readers in his debt for much antiquarian lore that avails greatly for an understanding of the period. He accepts the dates suggested by the late Mr. M. L. Beaven for the death of Alfred—24 September 899—and the death of Athelstan—October 939—but rejects 925 for that of Edward the Elder in favor of 924.

The outline of St. Dunstan's career differs in some important points from the commonly accepted account. Chronological difficulties are made to disappear by taking 909 as the year of his birth, thereby avoiding the absurdity of having him ordained before he was fourteen and becoming an abbot at eighteen or twenty. Emphasis is laid on the native origin of the monastic revival under St. Dunstan. King Alfred's attempt to meet the need he recognized was a failure because he could find no recruits among the better class of Englishmen; and a monasticism that was a foreign importation could not flourish on English soil. In the judgment of the present writer the Dean makes good his main case, yet he unduly minimizes the assistance which the English revival obtained fom the religious movement on the continent. The point need not be pressed too far; St. Dunstan's success was due primarily not to his English training but to his character. He "felt the need not only for others but for himself and could not rest until he had sacrificed his all for the humble life of poverty and obedience and entire devotion to God."

St. Ethelwold, less prudent and less gentle than Oswald, and lacking the massiveness and calm of Dunstan, is cleared of the charge of being a harsh, unyielding, and hasty reformer. He is not acquitted of all responsibility for high-handed action at Winchester; but the violence with which the reform was effected there is charged to the king; and it is pointed out that no similar act of violence is recorded in connection with Ethelwold's reforms elsewhere. While Ethelwold's share in the monastic movement was the direct outcome of St. Dunstan's work at Glastonbury, that of St. Oswald was directly inspired by Fleury. Yet St. Ethelwold, too, had introduced customs from Fleury and the liturgical chant from Corbey; and St. Dunstan had come in

touch with foreign monasticism at Ghent,—although only after his great work at Glastonbury was done.

The closing lecture, on the *Regularis Concordia*, is a portrayal of the religious life revived by St. Dunstan and his coworkers, as seen in the code of customs drawn up to supplement the Rule of St. Benedict and adapt it to the peculiar circumstances of tenth century England. St. Dunstan's was the mind that inspired this code, though St. Ethelwold's was the hand that drew it up. Monks from Fleury and from Ghent were called in, to give their aid. "Here we recognize the national aptitude for taking the best from all quarters, tempering extravagance with a fine discretion, adapting rather than copying the customs of other lands." The comment may be true enough; the point of view it expresses is characteristically English.

Four additional notes deal with certain matters touched upon in the body of the book: the Postscript to the English Version of the Rule, Wulfstan's Life of St. Ethelwold, the use of the term "Canons" and the "Alea Evangelii." Like the lectures these notes will repay careful reading. Dr. Robinson has added materially to the indebtedness already owed him by students of ecclesiastical history; not least by pointing out how much still remains to be done on the history of this very period on which he has thrown so much light.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

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**The Life of Mère St. Joseph.** (Marie Louise Françoise Blin de Bourdon). Co-Foundress and Second Superior-General of the Institute of Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur. By a Member of the Same Institute. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1923. Pp. 285.

Literary critics almost as a unit agree that a book which has the French Revolution as background is foreordained to attract and hold the attention of readers, sometimes quite apart from its intrinsic merits. The Life of Mère St. Joseph can claim such a distinction pre-eminently and will make a special appeal to many varieties of readers who are partial to biography. Those who see in the mob of 1798-94 as evidence of God's wrath against an unworthy people will find comfort in the striking contrast of

pious Catholic families whose characteristics explain the stupendous reaction when the red tide rolled back and France cleansed from the sins of centuries arose in splendor and vigor to a nobler and loftier spiritual life.

From a corner of Picardy is portrayed in the pages, a stalwart house of Catholic France, many of them the kindred of the future co-foundress of Notre Dame de Namur and its most generous benefactor in past or present times. The simple and abiding faith, the gospel of deeds rather than of words and professions, loyalty to their country, their religion and the duties towards their people inherited from generations of practical Catholics, render these a type of the occupants of many thousands of other homes all over France. There are vivid pictures of secret places where hunted priests are sheltered and where the faithful gather for the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and to receive the Sacraments but always in terror of a fatal interruption. Robespierre's sinister spectre darkens many of the pages and it is realized again what a blessing it was to humanity and to the ages to come when he and his régime crashed down so thunderously, for it saved the life of the peasant saint of Cuvilly, Julie Billiart and it sent back to his sorrowing family, Viscount Blin de Bourdon, father of the future Mère St. Joseph, her associate.

It is imperative to comprehend the social revolution of France as well as the political in order to see some of the inevitable results. The humble peasant of Cuvilly becomes the trusted friend and *intime* of a young woman born into the nobility and destined for a high career in the worldly sense, heiress of the title and estate of the Baron de Fouquesolles of the chateau de Gézaincourt in Picardy. This friendship which is disinterested and inspired by the loftiest motives, and the rendition of its development and result is one of the most inspiring parts of the present volume is logically the groundwork of Mère St. Joseph's life as it was that of her holy collaborator. Told in simple language, almost colloquial at times and always devoid of those grace and verbal adjuncts which are so frequently employed to present a servant of God to a sometimes incredulous world, the narrative assumes the usual chronological form and shows balance and harmony from the first to the last chapter. The childhood of Marie Louise Françoise is amply though calmly

depicted and the strength of her nature shows its roots from the early days in her sense of responsibility and inherent piety. Since Notre Dame de Namur is so essentially an institute of teachers and in this country at least, the foremost of the religious orders of women who have adopted this branch of Christian service almost exclusively, a lesson of stupendous significance will be found in the early chapters of Mère St. Joseph's Life. It is that depicting her education. She was attractive in appearance and being constantly the companion of elders, became rather precocious in manner and in thinking. So her fine old *grandmère,* Baroness De Fouqesolles, sends her during the summer to a distant convent that of the Benedictines at Doullens, because the winsome and sunny natured child attracts too much attention from the visitors to the chateau. Here she was subjected to a règime which would now be deemed much too severe for so young a child. In the autumn when the chateau was once more occupied only by her grand parents who had adopted her from her birth, she returned to continue her studies under special teachers, and so before she is quite seven she has learned the value of solitude and recollection, of yielding her natural impulses and becoming subject to the will of others. The old Baroness true to the creed under which she was reared bent the growing tree into the shape of which saints are moulded. In after years, the young noblewoman never forgot the value of silence and prayer, and of selecting companions with stern regard to this powerful dual test. As teachers of teachers, Notre Dame has filled a useful role but as moulders of the characters of future mothers of families, this example of the stern old Baroness of Picardy could be applied with infinite benefit to a nation which in saddening numbers has almost forgotten how to be silent or to pray.

A touching story of a religious vocation gropingly found and in the instance of St. Julie Billiart, only as the result of a seemingly supernatural manifestation, must be considered a valuable portion of this life. Natural affections endear Mlle de Bourdon to the reader and her sorrow at her father's lapse from the faith due to the influence of Voltaire and the leveling of standards during the Revolution are well told. She is comforted in the end and her father's reconciliation to the Church in his last sick-

ness, has the two-fold result of leaving her free to join her friend Mlle Billiart in the religious life and inspires her to consecrate her mellow days for she is somewhat over forty to the inspired idealism of her friend and to make over her handsome fortune to the same cause. Mlle Bourdon had as before noted received an excellent education and this proved her most valuable gift to the Institute, since its definite mission is the teaching of youth. The more opulent classes were never deemed outside the sphere of its activity, but from the beginning the predilection of Notre Dame is for the poor and to quote the cofounder's biographer, "Their spirit is to be a spirit of simplicity, of obedience and of charity and their desire, is in the words of their Rule, to devote their labors to the poor of the most abandoned places." Mère St. Joseph during her generalate, drew the constitution of Notre Dame and though its rules were formed in part from existing constitutions of those of St. Benedict, of St. Francis de Sales and of St. Ignatius of Loyola, yet in one essential it differs from all these older institutions of the Church. This is typified in the spiritual union between its founders. One was an uneducated peasant and the other the flower of French nobility with every intellecual and cultural endowment. There is no distinction of choir and lay sisters among the members of Notre Dame and every class of society has been from its incipiency represented in its associates. Mère St. Joseph in her life made it evident that there is a tie which binds more tenderly and closely than the accident of birth or mental attainment.

Singularly gifted in mentality, Mère St. Joseph made provision for such a time as the present when a higher development makes imperative a higher curriculum of studies. The elasticity of her rule has made possible the success of the Sisters of Notre Dame as teachers both in the poor parishes where the attendants come from a lower strata and the soil is virgin for the instructor, as well as in such institutions as Trinity College at Washington, D. C., which in little more than twenty-five years has climbed to equal rank with well dowered institutions of several times the age. Mère St. Joseph taught all the first teachers of Notre Dame and her methods have been carried down the intervening years as reverently as the religious practices of Mother Julie. The reader lays down the volume quite convinced

that another saint will soon glorify the annals of Notre Dame de Namur and that these holy women who toiled and suffered together and who sleep side by side in that solemn and secluded tomb in their Mother House at Notre Dame de Namur, will be invoked together on the altars of the Church.

Mère St. Joseph's Life will however evoke a keener pleasure in this English translation, if accepted as a pleasant personal study the reader would unwittingly omit to read a brief note of introduction which precedes its table of contents. It is with a distinct feeling of dissatisfaction that it is learned that this excellent volume is but a free translation of a previously published volume in French by Monsieur L. Techy-Tommes. The author who modestly veils her identity as a member of the same institute as Mère St. Joseph gives all credit for the original and painstaking research which enabled her to portray her saintly subject in the full flower of her momentous labors. She claims a result equally authentic but less fully documented that the subject matter is presented in form more suitable to the mentality of the English reader than a verbatim translation and the inclusion of the original sources would have been. It is an unfortunate way of expressing something which at best is highly controversial. It may be said that the hallowed past of Notre Dame de Namur belongs in a special way to France and then to Belgium but that its future, the unfolding of its mission as conceived by Julia Billiart and her devoted champion and benefactor, Marie Louise Françoise Blin de Bourdon, has been committed to the English speaking peoples. In a passion for historical research, the English student shows no lower conception than the Latin and in this country at least, no biography is deemed worth the name which does not produce its sources of information scientifically and amply stated. No more thorny topic can be broached than the price of a book in relation to its value. A sufficient price is asked for the life of Mère St. Joseph to warrant its purchaser in expecting documentation and it will prove a sorry disappointment that he is politely referred to the original of Monsieur L. Techy-Tommes in French of which the author of the English version naively asserts, "in view of its accessibility it has not been considered necessary to reprint the appendix."

MARGARET BRENT DOWNING.

**The Revolutionary Idea in France, 1789-1871.** By Godfrey Elton. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1923. Pp. 190.

Mr. Godfrey Elton, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, has written a philosophical study of the Revolution, which will appeal to students familiar with Aulard, Acton's *Lectures on the French Revolution*, Rose, Fournier, Seignobos, Lamartine, Marx, Blanc, and Bodley. A text-book knowledge will hardly suffice, for Professor Elton presupposes a European rather than an American university training in modern history. With the proper background, a reader will appreciate this thoughtful survey which divorces the real accomplishments of the Revolution, its essentials, and definite results from the maze of detail and leaves an intelligent grasp of the movement as a whole. He does not end the Revolution with the year 1799 or with Waterloo but with the establishment of the Third Republic. And, yet, one wonders if the Great War is not its logical conclusion.

To the author, the Revolution is la Vendée and the émigrés, as well as the noyades and the guillotine; it is Marat and Charlotte Corday quite as much as Mirabeau and Napoleon. It is "the French people's deep and instinctive sense of the need of certain changes, and their efforts, beneath certain easily distinguishable distractions to accomplish them." Most surprising of his missions, he observes, is in the scant treatment of the religious problem which is important but not essential to an understanding of the Revolution. And such an understanding he believes is vital to a knowledge of modern Europe and its present problems.

In "The Outbreak" the essential causes of the Revolution appear—France bankrupt, governed by a disorganized despotism, a middle class wealthy but unrecognized, wealth insecure, privileged classes within the Church and second estate, incomplete reforms of a "repentant monarchy," and popularizations of the eighteenth century philosophers. The middle class urge the Revolution and not until the Bastille was their hold loosened. Of Gallicanism, he says nothing, though it was largely state control that made bishops of nobles and endowed them so heavily at the expense of humble, middle class or peasant curés. The bishop of Autun was an institution rather than merely the person, Talleyrand.

"Mirabeau and the Idealogues" recounts the failure of conservative revolution led by doctrinaire idealists who talked bravely of democracy but feared a too close contact with democrats. The sections of Paris would as soon tolerate the Bourbons as Mirabeau and La Fayette. Their constitution satisfied no group. One can hardly accept the following: "A civil constitution of the clergy, too, was emerging which, leaving only spiritual supremacy to the Pope, created an independent Gallican Church, with equalized dioceses and bishops and vicars chosen by the active citizens." (p. 31). That would leave only a diluted form of Anglicanism.

The day of "Jacobinism" follows with court, nobles, church, conservatives, and Girondins removed in hurried order. It was a system, "the people in revolution," direct democracy through a group of Robespierres, instructed delegates of the fanatical clubs. It was Paris of the sections in control, despotically leading France of the provinces through the Terror to stifle insurrection and roll back invasion. The ninth of Thermidor ended the system, for the terror which caused the Terror had vanished. A suggestive chapter summarizes the achievements of the Revolution prior to their consolidation by Napoleon: efficient centralization in government, but yet as centralized as under the ancien régime, order and social equality; a glorious foreign policy or domination in Europe; destruction of feudalism; equality in taxation, transference of the land to the peasant, and new educational institutions. Political equality and liberty were not won but remained shiboleths.

The period 1814-1830 is described as "The Attack on the Revolution," and that of 1830-48 under the caption "Antecedents of the New Revolution." The 1830 episode was a revolution stopped half way, so logic drove Frenchmen to its consummation. Professor Elton explains: "It is this pitiless logic, applied to affairs as well as to intellectual processes, which has given France so many brilliant historians and such a disastrous history." Corruption, the tranquil contempt of a people for their government, popular hostility to the industrial system, socialistic writers (Fourier, Proudhom, Buchez, Thureau, Dangin, Saint-Simon, Louis Blanc), and secret societies paved the way for "Forty-eight," as the Irish so affectionately and famili-

arly term their revolts. The Revolution of 1848 soon becomes the Empire of Napoleon III, and Mr. Elton concisely marks the transition.

"The Last Revolution" is described as due to Napoleon, tragic failure in foreign affairs, petty despotism, Karl Marx, rise of industrial cities and a laboring class, and Sedan. But it turned out that a conservative Republic was erected upon the ruins; hence, the commune and the bloody destruction of the communards by the country-side representing France. Yet this blood-shed was without the glamor of the Terror and its memory is passing away. And the Third Republic lives; the Revolution of 1789 is permanent; and propertied conservatism rules. Thus, Professor Elton sets forth his theme in elegant diction, with some degree of dogmatism and a bit of a British outlook.

R. J. P.

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**The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation.** By Charles Howard McIlwain, Professor of History and Government in Harvard University. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1923. Pp. xi + 198. (No index).

Professor McIlwain's study is essentially a legal brief in which the argument is developed with apparent logical precision, and the various assertions supported by carefully selected historical evidence. The American Revolution, the author declares, "began and ended with the political act or acts by which British sovereignty over the thirteen English colonies in North America was definitely repudiated." This definition makes it possible to date the Revolution with exactness; on May 15 or June 29, 1776. Up to that time "the American claims were aimed solely at the power of Parliament." This was constitutional opposition, not revolution; when they were aimed at the prerogative, they became revolutionary.

The Revolution of 1688-89 had placed Parliament above the king, in England only; not in the dominions. After developing this point and after categorically denying that the resolutions of Parliament of May 19, 1649, brought the colonies within the range of Parliamentary legislative authority, the author pro-

ceeds to a careful examination of the constitutional precedents governing the dominions already existing before the American colonies were founded: Ireland, the Isle of Man, and the Channel Islands. By citing voluminous evidence he proves that these political units were not subject to Parliament. It follows therefore, as certain American leaders asserted at the time, that neither were the American colonies; hence the American side of the controversy was constitutional and "right." This analysis of constitutional precedents and their application to the colonial problem is the chief contribution of the book.

In defining his problem and in stating his conclusions Professor McIlwain is inclined to be dogmatic to the point of doubtful accuracy. The struggle "popularly called the American Revolution" was up to the last phase "a contest solely between the Americans and Parliament. The Crown was not involved." There was no question of the prerogative before 1776. If this is true, how is Patrick Henry's argument in the "Parson's Cause" to be explained, when the famous Virginian denied the right of the Privy Council to disallow colonial laws? Professor McIlwain avoids this problem by overlooking it. Again, what of Josiah Quincy's excoriation of ministerial instructions to the Governor of Massachusetts in 1770?

Furthermore, readers are bound to ask why the English Revolution of 1688-89 did not establish Parliamentary supremacy over the colonies, as it did over England. The author's answer —England accepted the Revolution while the colonies did not—savors of legal quibbling. How did the realm of England accept it, otherwise than by failing to repudiate it? The colonies did not repudiate it either. Other authorities on the American Revolution, and on the English constitution argue that by virtue of the Revolution of 1688-89, Parliament succeeded to as much of the king's authority as it desired to take over, and that it had no thought of geographical limits to its new powers within the range of English possessions.

Again, in treating "the colonies" as a unit, Professor McIlwain ignores the important fact that eight of the thirteen: New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, were not in existence as English colonies in May 1649, when Parliament asserted its au-

thority over the dominions. Would not these eight at least be legally subject to Parliament under the new dispensation? In any case they are certainly not in the same category with Ireland or the Channel Islands. Or, finally, what of Pennsylvania, the charter of which specifically reserved to Parliament the right to tax that particular colony?

These are examples of the questions which, in the mind of the reviewer, suggest unsoundness, both historical and logical, in this work. Is it possible that critics will pass over its conclusions with the same curt finality with which the author dismisses Mr. Sydney George Fisher on page 53?

RALPH VOLNEY HARLOW,
Boston University.

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**Contemporary French Opinion on the American Civil War.** By W. Reed West, Ph.D. **Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,** Series XLII, No. 1. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1924. Pp. viii + 159.

Dr. West's monograph is for the most part based on the study of the principal French newspapers and periodicals of our Civil War period. In their files he has traced the development of French public opinion concerning our domestic difficulties. He has not attempted to follow French discussions of military events and the course of Franco-American diplomatic relations. Within these limitations Dr. West has given us a very creditable dissertation. We think, however, that these limitations are severe. Military events and diplomatic passages, even if they were often incorrectly reported and were always tardy, must have affected public opinion, because it is true that men often think and act not on the basis of what *is*, but of what they think is. For this reason history frequently is stranger than fiction. We think, furthermore, that the reader would be better prepared to follow the French editorial mind if Dr. West had provided us with a preliminary survey of the journals he used and of the attitude toward public policy of the parties or factions which they represented. Finally, if, as the author states, "the development of English opinion during the period (of our Civil War) is fairly well known in its outline" (p. vii), some account might well

have been taken of the expressions of the British press because the French got their American news largely through English channels.

The Readers of the REVIEW will naturally look for mention of Archbishop Hughes' diplomatic mission to the French Government. Except for a notice of the publication of a pro-slavery article attributed to but repudiated by the prelate in *Le Monde*, the Catholic organ, nothing is said about his mission. The reviewer remembers Dr. West's limitation of his subject, but recalls a letter of Archbishop Hughes' to Secretary Seward, written in March, 1862, in which the Archbishop stated that a Southern gentleman had held him responsible for having prevented France and England from aiding the Confederate cause.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

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**Circuit-Rider Days Along the Ohio, Being the Journals of the Ohio Conference from Its Organization in 1812 to 1826.** Edited with an introduction and notes by William Warren Sweet of De Paw University. Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern, 1923. Pp. 296.

This volume in conjunction with Professor Sweet's earlier work, *The Rise of Methodism in the West* recounts the remarkable progress of Methodism in the primitive, frontier settlements of the Ohio Valley during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In the first third of the volume, the editor by way of introduction tells the story of the riders, their labors, missions, and communicants set in a rather full background of political history. The remainder is a reprint of the journals. The work should be of special interest to Methodists, for it is the Ohio Valley which Professor Sweet regards as the most Methodist part of America and the numerical centre of the Methodist world. Its interest should be much wider, for its portrayal of frontier political and social conditions concerns the student of the early West.

In 1812, there were sixty-nine riders, an increase from nine in 1800, though the next ten years show but a small increase in the number of preachers. In 1812, there were listed 22,723 white communicants and 561 colored; in 1823, 30,488 white and 195

colored. This would indicate no phenomenal growth in white adherents and a considerable drop in negro membership. Such figures are relative and less suggestive where no statistics of the total population or of the number of ministers and adherents of other sects are furnished. Methodist success it would appear was due to priority of location quite as much as to the character and methods of the itinerant preacher. The lists of elders include fewer Irish names than one would expect, and these for the most part have the tang of Ulster.

The riders preached to the soldiers in 1812, Bishop Asbury at Uniontown urging patriotism but maintaining the justice of only defensive wars. War morals caused the preachers worry, and in this period of unrest their flocks decreased. Even church-members profiteered on grain and whiskey. Riders who received annually from $80 to $160 found horse-shoeing at four dollars and oats at fifty cents a peck in the hard winter of 1813-1814 quite prohibitive. From a diary of James Finley, deacon, one gets a view of the paper money and bank mania, mushroom towns, land speculation, and the general paralysis which followed. Asbury died in 1815, so that new bishops carried on in the reconstruction days—McKendree, George, Soule, and Roberts.

Several pages are devoted to the first Indian mission among the Wyandots. Depending on Parkman as his authority, Professor Sweet writes: "The Jesuit missionaries had early found the Hurons most susceptible to the softening influences of Christianity, and the Catholics had continued their work among them, to some extent, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century their beneficial influence over the tribe seems to have largely disappeared. It is true, there were still some among the Wyandots who professed Christianity, "but it appears, both from their morals and from the declarations of many who professed to be Catholics" that their profession had little effect upon their lives. (p. 64). Possibly the suppression of the Jesuits and the resultant disorganization of Catholic missionary work had something to do with the decline of religious work among the tribe. Some local church historian might well investigate this matter.

Relative to slavery in accordance with the decree of the General Conference (1812), each annual conference could form its

own rules concerning the buying and selling of slaves. It was ordered by the Ohio Conference that no member shall purchase a slave except in cases of mercy to the slave, and then he shall execute a legal instrument of manumission dated in advance for the time when it is estimated that the slave has earned for him the purchase price. In the case of a female slave, if the laws of the state will admit, her children born in slavery shall be freed at twenty-one or as early as the law will permit. To sell a slave, other than to prevent a separation of families, a member must appeal to a circuit-preacher and a committee of three non-slave holding members who shall determine the necessity and advisability of the sale. Regulation was therefore within the power of the local preacher and conference, and refusal to abide by their decision would result in a member's exclusion from the church. This is interesting in the light of the Methodist ordinances in the South and the later separation of the church into the northern and southern denominations. (pp. 108, 109).

The early Methodist attitude toward Masonry is of special interest. In 1816, it was resolved that it was "inexpedient and imprudent for a travelling preacher to dishonor himself by associating with the Free Masons in their Lodges." Elders were to warn members from joining the society on the disapprobation of their church. The following year, the opposition was more decidedly proclaimed because, many men on conversion found it necessary to abandon their lodges and festivals, whereas members who joined evidenced decaying piety and caused schisms and a want of brotherly love, and furthermore Masons were said to be obviously deficient in religion and good morals. Then again it was pointed out that Methodists as such had the secret of the Lord and need not seek felicity in the "Secrets of Masonry." In 1821, the Conference admonished from the chair an elder who had affiliated with the "Free Masons and particularly of his manner of doing it." A letter of 1841 by James Finley condemning a minister who joined the Masons indicates the attitude of at least a section of the denomination in a comparatively late period. The minister is charged in stout terms with bringing disgrace upon himself and injury upon the church. He is asked how, after he has taken part in "the secret abominations of a lodge," he can condemn and expell the brethren for

participating in the much less wicked balls, theatres, and horse-races. He is admonished: "Your curiosity might have been gratified, if you had taken the pains to read Morgan's book, Atlans Ritual, John Quincy Adams' Letters and the testimony of 250 Masons who all announced it as Rottin and dangerous to our civil institutions, but I find the secret lies in the desire of Masonic influence and honner that comes from men and not from God." Slightly illiterate, Finley's letter is to the point and worth reproduction in full. (pp. 48 ff). It is a side-light on the anti-masonic movement of the time which may be traced in the late Charles McCarthy's *Anti-Masonic Party* or in McMaster's *History of the People of the United States.* (V. 109-120).

There is much of a local character or of sectarian importance, notes concerning Augusta College (1822-1844), unfriendly relations with Presbyterians, trials of elders, biographical notes of bishops and riders, expense accounts and allowances, and lists of riders and membership figures. It is a sectarian book well done, and though apparently a devout believer, Mr. Sweet writes in a liberal strain.

R. J. P.

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**A History of Colonial Virginia, the First Permanent Colony.** By William Broaddus Cridlin. Pageant Edition. Richmond: Williams Printing Co., 1923. Pp. vi + 181.

Mr. Cridlin, who is the Secretary of the Virginia Historical Pageant Commission and Registrar of the Virginia Sons of the American Revolution, has given us a new history of colonial Virginia. This book carries the story of the Old Dominion from its beginnings to Bacon's Rebellion in 1676,—the "Period of Formation"; another, promised us in the foreword, will carry the narrative from 1676 to 1776,— the "Period of Transition." To the text is appended a convenient "genealogy of the several shires and counties and population in Virginia from the first Spanish colony to the present time."

The book under review may fairly be judged only by the object which Mr. Cridlin had in view in publishing it. "Virginians, as a class," he states, "have not been as loyally enthusiastic in endeavor to familiarize themselves with the important lega-

cies the colony has bequeathed to the American Nation, as have the citizens of other sections where later colonies were planted." This "sad fact" is due not entirely to a lack of interest on the part of Virginians in the history of their state, but to the fact that the interest-stimulating information is either packed away in costly works, or still unextracted from the records filed away in the National and State libraries. Mr. Cridlin, therefore, felt himself "justified in revising and preparing for publication in book form at a price within the means of anyone desiring to possess a copy" a series of articles which he had printed in the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* for the purpose of interesting Virginians in the Historical Pageant presented in Richmond in May, 1922.

We think the book should answer the purpose of the author. It is a popular treatise of especial interest to those who can trace their ancestry into the period before 1675. It has pageantry in its chapter headings and so will serve those well who had the good fortune to witness a Thomas Wood Stevens production. It abounds in anecdote which passes for history with many. Its price is well within the reach of every one who prides himself even slightly in the history of Virginia. The serious student of Virginian political, economic, and social history will find little that has not been made known by other investigators.

FRANCIS J. TSCHAN.

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**Herbert Levi Osgood, an American Scholar.** By Dixon Ryan Fox. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924. Pp. 166.

Herbert L. Osgood (1855-1918), a New England farm-boy, was sent to Amherst by thrifty, sacrificing parents who listened to their Congregational minister's counsel to educate the youth. At Amherst, Osgood took more to the classics and to general reading in the library where he served as an assistant than to either orthodox or revivalist doctrines. Anson D. Morse taught him history and John W. Burgess, fresh from a German seminar, inspired him with a passion for historical accuracy. Later, he followed a course under Sumner, of Yale. Urged by Burgess Osgood dedicated his painfully accumulated little fund to a year's study in Berlin. The meaning of scholarship dawned

upon him, but it was a little unfair to compare the German universities to Amherst or even to the Yale of that day. At Berlin he studied under Wagner, Treitschke, Gneist, and Ranke, but it was the last whom he afterward consciously followed in method and style of composition. His savings gone, he returned to America obtaining a position in the Brooklyn High School through a teachers' agency. It was this experience which aroused him to aid graduate students in procuring college appointments.

Six years of high school routine enabled him to marry and continue his work in Columbia under Burgess until he was awarded the doctoral degree, in the meantime writing an occasional article for *The Political Science Quarterly*. In 1889, he went to London, realizing that without a firm grasp of English history he could not understand America. His vague hopes were anticipated the following year when Columbia College was reorganized into a university and he was invited to an adjunct-professorship by Burgess and President Low. The *Series* was established in 1891 as a means of publishing the better dissertations. This and association with Munroe Smith, Frank Goodnow, Burgess, Seligman, and two young men, John Bassett Moore and William A. Dunning gave Osgood added zest for his work. And in pure scholarship much depends on the individual but probably more on the environment.

Osgood taught a considerable range of courses, broadening his knowledge in a way to make later specialization more fruitful, for not a few years elapsed before a $5000 salary and limitation within the colonial field were granted as luxuries. Soon he attracted earnest scholars the country over, for his seminar became famed as a workshop where investigations into our colonial origins were conducted with scrupulous impartiality. The author lists a few students (incidentally he himself is one) all known for their contributions to American history—George L. Beer, Alexander Flick, William R. Shepherd, Charles Beard, Charles Lingley, Susan Kingsbury and Arthur Schlesinger. He might have greatly extended the list without touching the undergraduates and students of other institutions who indirectly fell under Osgood's influence.

Dr. Fox describes his method of working, his study and his

home life, and how a talented family served as his research aides when he was working against time in the British archives. His seven volumes on *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, *The Chartered Colonies*, and *The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century* had to be completed, and fortunately for scholars they were practically finished before his decline and death. The last four have appeared posthumously, prepared for the printer by the author of this memoir, and the munificence of a loyal student who turning toward business from teaching provided the necessary financial guarantee. It is a sad commentary that Dr. Fox makes on American culture, the difficulty of publishing the findings of a scholar and the small audience, and that an impoverished, library-using group, to which such works appeal. Osgood grieved before his death that his volumes on a phase of the empire attracted so little attention in England. Since the war and a revived interest in America, it is said that Osgood has become better known.

Professor Osgood gave time to his teaching, wrote out and revised his lectures, encouraged scholars, read manuscripts for the *Series*, inspired rather than exploited his seminar, sought no social life save association with kindred spirits or disciples, desired no publicity, dashed off no pot-boiling articles, wrote no text-books, but labored on the university publications. Other than a few articles and an occasional estimate of a book in his mastered field submitted to the *Quarterly* and the *American Historical Review*, the work of his life is to be found in his seven volumes. He was a true scholar, early found his field, and confined himself to it.

This volume offers a beautiful tribute, but one which falls short of the appreciative references in his seminar to Osgood by Charles M. Andrews of Yale, whose written appraisement Dr. Fox quotes with the view that he is the most authoritative critic of this period. (p. 79). It is a volume which every graduate student should read for it portrays an ideal scholar, breathes the historical spirit, and suggests the sacrifice of the truth-seeker and the small merit, that he gains among men. It will inspire the man with a divine call and warn away to remunerative employment many who are not called.

R. J. P.

**Imperial Washington.** By R. F. Pettigrew. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co., 1922. Pp. 426.

In the publisher's note the following appears: "This is an extraordinary book by an extraordinary man." This statement might better have read: This is not an extraordinary book by an extraordinary man, but it contains some extraordinary views that are extraordinarily unconvincing.

The author certainly is in a position to write about American government, having an experience of about fifty years in public life, but he writes with a pessimism that at times amuses and at other times irritates. The ex-Senator attempts to diagnose the ills of our government and finds America nigh unto death from "imperial tendencies"—with bankers, lawyers, senators, plutocrats, profiteers, politicians, trusts, railroads, capitalism, etc., as points of infection.

He divides his treatment into six parts: "Introduction," "The Economic Power at Home," "The Machinery of Government," "Imperialism," "The World War," and "Our Civilization." The result of reading the above will not give,—to quote the publisher, —"an accurate notion." This is verified. It would be a waste of time to take his points individually—a few will suffice. It is impossible to agree wholly with his origin of the Constitution or his explanation of the first ten Amendments. It is impossible to agree that lawyers "should be excluded from the bench and every legislative assembly" on the ground that they are the only men who "can take a bribe and call it a fee," or because they study the past and are therefore unfit to rule the present. Again, a "preacher spends the first half of his life over the past and the last half over the future and lets the present go to ——." It is hardly true that "Big Business" alone controls the country, or that our educational system trains only the memory. It is impossible to agree that the railroads should be taken by the government from the owners without compensation because they are stolen property. America may have "imperialistic tendencies" in expansion—and the author attempts to prove this in the case of the Philippines, Panama, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Haiti, The Danish West Indies, Santo Domingo, and Hawaii. Even here the author is too partisan. It is a hard doctrine to believe

that the Senate never legislated for the people but always for "the interests." In a word, is the country going to destruction as fast as the author would have us believe?

In fine, the book is a mass of half truths, with some facts that the author has gained from personal contact, mixed with a radical economic theory. The ex-Senator's remedy is the following: "Those who do the work and produce all the wealth should combine and form a political party with a platform of eight words: 'Every man is entitled to all he produces'; with the slogan, 'All power to the people who do the work and produce the wealth'; and take possession of the government in all its branches; drive the lawyers out of office and repeal all laws granting privileges; and enact laws for the public ownership of all utilities of every kind that are now owned by corporation."

To the publisher's note again: "Mr. Pettigrew .....is bitter, extravagant, unphilosophical, wrong-headed, violent,..." True indeed. It is a pity to see fifty years experience of public life cast in such a style and airing such a jaundiced theory.

WILLIAM MCNAMARA, C.S.C.,
Notre Dame University.

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**The Story of a Poet: Madison Cawein.** By Otto A. Rothert. Louisville, Kentucky: John P. Morton and Company, 1922.

In this volume Mr. Otto A. Rothert, secretary of the Filson Club (Louisville), of which Madison Cawein was its most distinguished and honored member, presents the life story of the Kentucky poet, who died in 1914. The book contains over 500 pages, and is handsomely bound and printed. But it is only fair to the reader to say that the contents are not commensurate with the format. In no sense is the work a critical biography; and it is doubtful if the book will have much appeal even as a popular biography. For the events of Cawein's life are told, not in a connected, carefully proportioned narrative by one writer (Mr. Rothert is editor rather than author of the volume), but in the form of excerpts from a variety of sources. Only a chapter or two are from the pen of Mr. Rothert, who, curiously enough, knew the poet only during the last year of his life. Newspaper clippings, chiefly from the local press; autobiographical frag-

ments and letters; a questionnaire that had been submitted to Cawein shortly before his death; reminiscences and recollections by his personal friends and others,—such is the hetrogeneous mass that makes up this volume. A collection of this sort might very well have some value as a source book; but in the present case most of the material has been selected with such poor critical judgment that the book is nothing but a huge unwieldly mass of extreme eulogies. Cawein, although a poet of little originality or genius, deserves a better biography.

JAMES MCGRAW.

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**In the Home of Martyrs.** By the Very Rev. James A. Walsh, M. Ap. Maryknoll, N. Y.: Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America, 1922. Pp. 151.

Scarcely a decade old, Maryknoll has already a worthy list of publications to its credit. The present volume, one of the latest to come from the press, is by the Superior of the Society, and contains his impressions of a visit made some years ago to the homes of about a dozen French missionaries of the late nineteenth century. Father Walsh's travels took him to Lyons, St. Hilaire, Bourg, Dijon, St. Loop, and other towns, where he sought information concerning such valiant sons as Jaspard Bechet, Henry Dorie, and Just de Bretenières. "Oh, these martyrs!" he observes, "how little do their fellowmen, near or far, know of their sacrifices for God and for souls." Even in their native town, some were already quite forgotten. Yet Father Walsh was able to gather several stray bits of biographical and other material, and these he has preserved in his very readable and edifying record. Adding to the interest of the sketches are several full-page photographic illustrations. The book is very tastefully bound and printed.

JAMES MCGRAW.

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**The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, A Study in Trade Union Structure and Functions.** By Michael A. Mulcaire, C.S.C. Privately printed. Washington, 1923.

In a time of much misunderstanding and ignorance concerning the structure and purpose of trade unions, this doctoral dis-

sertation submitted to the Catholic University should be valuable and helpful to students interested in the general labor movement. Father Mulcaire has presented, with uncommon success, an analysis of the origin, growth, and functions of one of the largest and most important trade unions. He answers well, and in a readable style, the questions which one would naturally ask concerning any union, its origin, membership, organizing methods, apprenticeship rules and training, government, beneficiary features and methods of collective bargaining. In his discussion of the apprenticeship rules and training, the author points out many defects in apprenticeship methods, which are generally applicable to unions whose work is of a technical character. The treatment of collective bargaining describes the usual working agreements of the union, the functions of the various locals and the International Brotherhood in making contracts and settling disputes. There is also a rather full discussion of the relations of the Brotherhood with the Railroad Administration and the Railroad Labor Board. It is interesting to note that "the employers, as a rule, have the greatest confidence in the International Officers."

Of no small importance is the author's acknowledgment of consideration and assistance received from the officers of the union and from the International Secretary, "whose constant interest, courtesy, and helpfulness were invaluable aids in the preparation of this monograph." It augurs well for the future of trade unionism and a better understanding of its purpose on the part of the public, when the members and officers of a stout organization like The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers will open their records and minutes to the impartial student and generously co-operate in such a study. The success of Father Mulcaire's work will undoubtedly elicit similar surveys of this phase of the labor movement.

R. J. P.

# NOTICES

(The more important books listed here will be reviewed in later issues).

*Report of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference* (published by the Conference, Herman, Butler County, Pa.) is of exceptional interest and of permanent educational value. It deals with the very timely subject—Science, which threatens to supplant in certain American institutions the old cultural subjects. Three learned papers were read during the Conference, all of which are reproduced in the *Report*: "Science in the Franciscan Order," by Fr. John M. Lenhart, O.M.Cap.; "The Cultural Aspects of the Sciences," by Fr. Boniface Goldhausen, O.M., Cap.; "Equipment and Research Work in the Sciences," by Fr. Aloysius Fromm, O.F.M., Ph.D.

The papers shed much light upon what is at the present time a difficult problem for Catholic educators. The Sons of St. Francis have done much in the scientific field, and these Educational Conferences are evidence that they keep abreast of the times. They were the pioneers in the Natural Sciences, and regulated in favor of science study in their general constitutions of 1292.

*St. Bonaventure's Seminary Year Book, 1923.* Edited by the Duns Scotus Theological Society (published by St. Bonaventure's Seminary, Allegany, N. Y.) Year Books, usually, are rarely subjects for notice in the columns of the REVIEW; but this volume is of exceptional value. It is the most elaborately made Year Book that we have ever seen. Its mechanical features are remarkable, and its contents are evidence of scholarly craftsmanship. It reflects credit upon the diocesan and Franciscan students of St. Bonaventure. The entire book is devoted to Theses, Studies, and Dissertations on the Blessed Eucharist.

*Eight Great American Lawyers*, by Horace H. Hagan, of the Tulsa, Oklahoma Bar (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Co., 1923, pp. 293) should interest and stimulate law students and lawyers; for in short, readable, accurate, spirited, and fairly detached biographical sketches, the author has outlined the careers of Luther Martin (1748-1826), William Pinkney (1764-1822), William Wirt (1772-1834), Thomas Addis Emmet (1764-1827), Rufus Choate (1799-1859), Sergeant Prentiss (1808-1850), Judah P. Benjamin (1811-1884), and William M. Evarts (1818-1901). There is no delusion of making an original contribution, but a desire in a popular fashion to record the salient features of the careers of this well selected list and to indicate the basis of their professional success.

To the reader the sketches of Martin, Wirt, Benjamin, and Emmet were most interesting, and the last two the most inspiring. Benjamin the Jew, born in St. Thomas Isle, immigrant to America, dropped from

Yale, lawyer in New Orleans, legal writer, considered for a judgeship of the Supreme Court, senator, chief of the departments of Justice, War, and State (in order) in Jefferson Davis's Cabinet, refugee in London, student at Lincoln's Inn at fifty-five years, and in his last ten years a leading and financially successful barrister and Queen's Counsel; this was indeed a remarkable career. For Emmet, the writer has a little of the clan attachment. Emmet's career somewhat reversed Benjamin's. Son of a wealthy physician with political position yet nationalist leanings, graduate of Trinity, finished in medicine at Edinburgh, successful practioner in London and Dublin, student of law at the Temple, member of United Irishmen in 1795, their counsel, arrested in '98, exiled, in Brussels and Paris seeking in vain Napoleon's aid for Ireland, immigrant in New York, opposed by "Federalist" bar, and at length one of the greatest American lawyers: such was the career of the brother of Robert Emmet. Benjamin and Emmet won position in two lands despite every conceivable obstacle; the other six great lawyers were better circumstanced but nevertheless won on merit and assiduous labor. And there is the lesson which Mr. Hagan would inculcate in a pleasant solution of popular, legal history.

The eminent scholar and theologian, Fr. Alexis Lepicier, O.S.M., who is so well known to English students, has just produced with Messrs. Marietti the first volume of what promises to be an invaluable work, a *Diatessaron*, or "Harmony of the Four Gospels," with an exegetical, dogmatic, historical and ascetical commentary.

The Holy Father has sent his congratulations and blessing to Fr. Lepicier on the appearance of the book. "We," says His Holiness, "who have nothing more at heart than that the study of the Bible and in the first place of the Gospels should be held in honour, in order that by this means healthy and holy lives be promoted among the clergy and the Christian people, approve greatly indeed your purpose, so much the more as we see that this first volume, which, as you promise, will soon be followed by others, has the same merit of sound doctrine and tender devotion which has caused our three immediate predecessors repeatedly to praise your writings."

Sir Bertram Windle's new volume of essays, *On Miracles and Some Other Matters* (Burns, Oates & Washbourne), is of special interest, particularly in view of recent discussions about Lourdes.

Messrs. Téqui, 82, Rue Bonaparte, Paris, have issued a French translation of Cardinal Marini's work on the *Stabat Mater*, *L'Esthètique du Stabat*, with a preface and notes, by J. C. Bronssole. This valuable commentary of the learned Cardinal, with 55 illustrations covering the iconography of the famous hymn, should be welcome to a large public.

*The Uniate Eastern Churches:* The Byzantine Rite in Italy, Sicily,

Syria, and Egypt by Adrian Fortscue, Ph.D., D.D., late Professor of Ecclesiastical History at St. Edmund's College, Ware, and edited by George D. Smith, D.D., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at the same College. (London: Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd.) is a particularly opportune work for much is being said and written on the question of Christian Union and lasting reunion, for it tells the tale of real and lasting reunion happily accomplished.

When Dr. Adrian Fortescue died more than a year ago he had two very important works on hand. Though not ready for the press the manuscripts had both been entrusted to one of the author's colleagues at St. Edmund's College, who was to prepare them for publication. The present volume naturally took first place as it forms a sequel to Dr. Fortescue's two earlier works, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, and *The Lesser Eastern Churches* (1913). It should not be understood that the work edited by Dr. Smith is fragmentary. It appears, so the writer tells us in the Preface," as it left the author's hands, with the certainty of one fulfilling his wishes." We hope to review this scholarly volume in a future issue.

*The Religious Life of Henry VI*, by Cardinal Gasquet (London: G. Bell and Sons), is an illuminating study of a monarch who, judged by the standards of our day, was singularly inefficient, but in the mid-fifteenth century, was beloved by the people of England. Cardinal Gasquet's book shows us the private life of the saintly king who by word and example inculcated a noble conception of life and its duties. He was preëminently the father of his people. Henry VI is one of the most amazingly misrepresented characters in history, whose personality was completely swamped by a series of untoward events.

*First Notions of Holy Writ*, by the Rev. C. Lattey, S.J. (Longmans), covers a wide field: within the limits of each of its six chapters a whole treatise on some important scriptural subject is contained. Its comprehensiveness is brought home to us also by the copious index, which might be usefully employed for the purpose of memorizing the chief points treated of in the text. Only an author who combines literary grace with sound scholarship could have succeeded in condensing such an amount of valuable matter in so small a compass, as Fr. Lattey has been able to do, without leaving any traces of conscious effort in the work itself. Everywhere throughout these pages the reader is made aware of the learning of the author.

The firm of Marietti, Turin and Rome, has published the *Ceremoniale Episcoporum*, a handy little volume, well printed in clear, bold type, and containing the most recent decrees—a most useful book for Masters of Ceremonies.

*Commonitorium in Codicem Juris Canonici, Lib. III*, from the same firm covers Parts II and III of the Third Book of The Codex—*De Rebus*. It gives us the most recent decisions of Rome concerning the interpretation of the Canon Law. On the famous canon n. 1181, concerning the offerings made at the church door, it offers a very serviceable commentary. The object of the canon is obviously to prevent any form of simony, hence payment at the church door upon entering is only prohibited when such payment would mean paying to hear Mass or to hear a sermon. But apparently it is lawful for the faithful to offer at the church door upon entering for any Divine Service an alms, say, for the upkeep of the sacred building —in fact any object—*diversum quam ad sacris ritibus assistendum*.

*Brevis Commentarius in Facultates, quas Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide dare solet Missionariis* comes from the same publisher. This brief commentary, by Fr. Anthony Inglesias, O.F.M., will prove useful to others besides missionaries for whom it is primarily intended. The faculties here explained are held by all bishops in territories subject to *Propaganda*. The New Code has altered some of these—amplifying them in some instances, restricting them in others.

*Handbook of Scripture Study*, by Dr. Schumacher (Herder). Volume One, is devoted to a General Introduction to the Bible, and deals with such subjects as the History of the Biblical Text, the Canon, Biblical Hermeneutics, Inspiration, etc. As in his earlier volumes the author aims at giving an outline rather than a detailed treatment of his subject. Full bibliographies are given, and the author shows himself to be fully abreast with modern literature and controversies. An Appendix contains the full Latin text of the Muratorian Canon, the *Providentissimus Deus*, and the *Spiritus Paraclitus* of Benedict XV.

*The Fulfilment of Judaism*, by a Member of the Guild of Israel. (Convent of Our Lady of Zion, Chepstow Villas, London, W) contains much valuable matter, set forth in a lucid and simple, yet scholarly, style. In Part I, on one side of the page, is set the Old Testament prophecy, on the other side, the fulfillment. There are forty pages of this. "The whole of the Old Testament is prophetic of the Messiah—and herein lies the typical sense of Holy Scripture," says Fr. Hugh Pope, O.P. Part II contains the objections of Jewish commentators to Christian interpretations of the prophecies, notably those of Dr. Adler, the celebrated Rabbi. Part III should be particularly valuable to those who have to deal directly with Jews, either during private instruction or conversation or in street preaching. There are few questions or objections which could not be answered by reference to this concise yet thorough little volume.

The editor of the *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis) thus summarizes (Vol. XXXI, No. 5) the letter of Cardinal Merry del Val which accompa-

nies the decree of condemnations of the *Manuel Biblique*, by *Vigoroux*, Bacuez, and Brassac, appearing in the *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* (Vol. XV, No. 13):

> The *Manuel Biblique*, originally edited by PP. Vigoroux and Bacuez, and later recast by P. Brassac, was denounced to the Roman authorities several years ago. In 1920, the General of the Sulpicans, petitioned the Holy See to have the work subjected to an examination and to point out the objectionable passages, so that they might be corrected. Benedict XV granted this unusual request and turned the matter over to the Holy Office. The S. Congregation, upon examining the *Manuel Biblique* as recast by Fr. Brassac, found that it had so many serious defects that correction was out of question (*ut prorsus impossibilis foret ipsius emendatio*).
>
> The principal objection was Fr. Brassac's false idea of the inspiration and inerrancy of Holy Scripture,—a conception which is contrary to the decrees of the Councils of Trent and of the Vatican, to the decisions of the Holy Office, to the decrees of the Biblical Commission, and to Catholic tradition.
>
> After proving this statement from the Encyclical "Providentissimus" of Leo XIII, the decree "Lamentabili" of Pius X, and the decree of the Biblical Commission of June 18, 1915, Cardinal Merry del Val discusses the method employed by Fr. Brassac, which he says, is wrong, because it does not properly bring out the positive Catholic teaching as against the positions of modern higher criticism.
>
> The Holy Office furthermore objected to a number of Brassac's interpretations of Scriptural passages as contrary to the mind of the Catholic Church.
>
> These defects, says the Cardinal, are all the more serious as the *Manuel* was intended for the instruction of young men preparing for the priesthood, whom the Church wishes to inspire with reverence and love for the Holy Scriptures.
>
> The decree of the Holy Office, dated Dec. 15, 1923, forbids the following editions of the *Manuel Biblique; Noveau Testament*, 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th editions, all by Brassac, *Ancien Testament*, 14th ed., edited by Brassac and J. Ducher, vols. I and II. These are forbidden both in the original French and in translations, and Cardinal Merry del Val adds in his letter that the Sacred Congregation will not permit the publication of the remaining volumes of the fifteenth edition of the *Manuel*.

Messrs. Burns, Oates & Washbourne have issued a new and revised edition of Fr. Barnabas Meistermann's *Guide to the Holy Land*. The Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster contributes a preface. This volume

is invaluable also as a reference book for all students of Holy Scripture in particular by reason of its admirable maps.

Fr. Francis Xavier Kugler, S.J., has published a new book on the chronology of the Bible under the title *Von Moses bis Paulus—Forschun gen zur Geschichte Israels, nach biblischen und profangeschichtlichen, insbesondere neuen keilinschriftlichen* Quellen (Münster i. W., Aschendorff).

An analysis of this work by the learned Orientalist appears in the *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis) Vol. XXXI, No. 5. The reviewer says: "This new book on biblical chronology is recommended most earnestly to all scientific libraries and to every biblical and historical student."

Volume I of the Koch-Preuss *Handbook of Moral Theology*, recently published by B. Herder Co. (St. Louis) completes this valuable work. It deals with "Man's Duties to His Fellowman." Three duties are discussed in two sections: (1) the duties of man individually; (2) and that which men owe to one another as members of society. This is without exception the most orthodox and scholarly handbook of moral theology in the English language.

*Christian Monism*, by Eric Wasmann, S.J., B.Ph., Authorised Translation, with an Introduction by Rev. Spencer Jones (Burns, Oates & Washbourne, Ltd.) This book opens with an appreciation of Fr. Wasmann and his works by the Rev. Spencer Jones. The scientific equipment of the learned Jesuit shines out in this volume as brightly as his zeal for souls. The significance of Eternity, the Presence of God, the Eucharistic Presence, our participation in the divine nature by grace—here are a few of the thoughts which the author brings before us in a well-timed book.

*Le Spiritisme d'aujourd-'hui et d'hier*, par Lucien Roure (Paris, Beauchesne), is a little book upon that fashion's freak of Spiritism or Spiritualism, which seems to be as good selling stuff in France as it is here. It deals faithfully with Sir Oliver Lodge and Conan Doyle; with haunted houses, apparitions, and phantoms, and gives the history of that supreme bit of trickery called Octoplasm, which is the very newest thing from the Beyond!

*Dante*, by Edmund G. Gardner, Litt.D. (J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd.), London, is, as the publishers point out, a new and thoroughly revised edition of Dr. Gardner's authoritative text on Dante's life and work. Every student of Dante owes much to the learned author; his primer, first published in 1900, has been studied not only by professed students of the Italian poet, but by all desirous of acquiring authoritative information concerning his immortal work. We are asked to regard the volume not as a new book, but merely as a revision of the above-mentioned primer.

However, the sections dealing with the Poet's life and the "Opere minori," based as they are upon the most recent critical research, as well as the enlarged bibliography, established its claim to be regarded as something more. In its present form the book is indispensable even to those who already possess the older work. As is usual in the case of Dr. Gardner's works, the index is excellent.

Dom Louis Gougaud's *Pioneers of Christianity* (Dublin: Gill) is admirably translated by Mr. Victor Collins. It forms a companion volume to Miss Margaret Stokes' *Six Months in the Appenines in Search of the Vertiques* or *Irish Saints in Italy*, and her *Three Months in the Forests of France in Search of Natives of Irish Lands*. Dom Gougaud's work, however, is more comprehensive.

Those who are familiar with Mother Janet E. Stuart's notable work, *The Education of Catholic Girls*, will welcome *Highways and Byways in the Spiritual Life*, by the same author. It is edited by Maud Monahan, with a preface by Cardinal Bourne and published by Longmans, Green & Co., London, and New York.

A worthy and interesting sequel to *The Grey Nuns in the Far North* is *Mid Snow and Ice: The Apostles of the Northwest*, by the same author, Rev. P. Duchaussois, O.M.I. (P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York). It is a delightful and most entertaining volume. It is really a record (partial, it is true) of the heroic missionary enterprises in the Canadian Northwest. Fr. Duchaussois has made a valuable contribution to missionary literature. The volume has a distinctive literary flavor even though produced in a language foreign to the author. The writer of this note has the privilege of knowing much of the author's literary attainments and hopes that other volumes dealing with "The Apostles of the Northwest" may soon appear.

*The History of Mother Seton's Daughters: The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, Ohio, 1809-1923*, by Sister Mary Agnes McCann, M.A., Ph.D., is the third volume of an important work, and covers the years 1870-1897. Presumably another volume is forthcoming to conclude the history. The volume has numerous illustrations, is furnished with an ample table of contents, a complete bibliography, and an adequate index. It is published by Longmans, Green & Co., London and New York.

*The Congregation of Saint Joseph of Carondelet: A Brief Account of Its Origin and Its Work in the United States* (1650-1922), by Sister Mary Lucida Savage, Ph.D. Introduction by Most Rev. John Joseph Glennon, Archbishop of St. Louis (B. Herder Book Company, St. Louis, Mo.), is a reprint of a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America, in partial fulfilment of the require-

ments for a Doctorate in Philosophy. The work is scholarly, admirably ordered and tells graphically "the history of a Sisterhood that has never defaulted; and the courage, sacrifice and fidelity of its members has never once been doubted, never questioned."

The Talbot Press, 85, Talbot Street, Dublin, has issued *St. Gregory the Great*, by A Sister of Notre Dame, and *The Angel of the Eucharist*, by Sister Mary Bernard, of St. Mary's Convent, York. The former is a good *œuvre de vulgarisation* which should find its place on the shelves of every Catholic library. The Abbot of Buckfast introduces this life of the great Benedictine pope, whose many-sided activities are so full of teaching for us of to-day.

*America* has issued "Papini's Prayer to Christ" (translated by Veronica Dwight from the Italian of Papini's *Life of Christ*), with the author's consent and approval. This Prayer is not found in the English translations by Dorothy Canfield Fisher, though it forms an essential interpretation of this very popular work.

The versatile G. K. Chesterton has given us an unusual study of St. Francis of Assisi in his latest work *St. Francis of Assisi* (New York: George H. Doran Company). It is an appreciation of this beloved Saint in Chesterton's happiest manner. This book is destined to become a classic.

*The Papacy*—the third set of the Cambridge Summer School Lectures has just been published by W. Heffer & Sons, Ltd., Cambridge, England. It is a companion volume to those already published in 1921 and in 1922. The book is most valuable as we have little in English except Barry's *Papal Monarchy*, which covers this important ground.

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* July-October 1923, is devoted entirely to the commemoration of the two-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the discovery of the Mississippi River by Marquette and Jolliet with a view as stated in the Introduction "to put in permanent form the firmly established historical facts of the discovery of the Illinois country, and make these facts easily accessible." The contents of the issue are of special interest to students of American history. Evidently Fr. Spalding, S.J., and Fr. Borgia Steck, O.F.M., are not agreed as to the meaning of the word "discover." So we are still justified in asking the question: "Who discovered the Mississippi?"

*The United States*, by William Henry Hudson and Irwin S. Guernsey. (Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York), was undertaken by the late Professor Hudson, one time professor of English Literature at the Stanford University and later lecturer in Chicago and London Universities as

a companion volume to his *France* in the "Great Nations Series," and on his death the work from 1800 was completed by Mr. Guernsey of the DeWitt Clinton High School of New York. Profusely illustrated with fifty pages of reproductions from photographs, artistically bound, splendidly printed and well written, this is probably the best, popularized single-volume history of the United States for the cursory general reader which covers the whole field from Columbus to the election of 1920.

*History of the People of England*, by Alice Drayton Greenwood. Vol. 2, 1485-1688. (S.P.C.K., London). This is the second volume of an ambitious History in the series of "Bede Histories" published by the Anglican "S.P.C.K." Miss Greenwood is thorough and competent on the technical side, and she has the faculty of ordering her material admirably. The Catholic student will find this volume most useful.

*Intelligence Tests*, by Rev. Austin G. Schmidt, S.J., Ph.D., (The America Press, New York) should be carefully read by our teachers. The author says: "The purpose of this pamphlet is to prove that mental tests, when used properly can be of signal service in school work; and to point out the chief limitations of tests, and the precautions that should be observed in their administration." He warns teachers that "intelligence tests measure only one ingredient of intelligence," and insists: "It is not right to use terms so loosely when we measure but one thing, and that a quality compared with which other qualities pertaining to the intellect are perpotent."

*Little Adventures in Newspaperdom*, by Fred W. Allsopp (Little Rock, Ark.: Arkansas Writer Publishing Co., 1922. Pp. 239), is a playful little sketch of the *Arkansas Gazette* to which he has given forty years as printer's devil to editor and stockholder. While local in character and of no particular value it does give an intimate picture of newspaper work on a typical small town journal.

*The Pictorial Life of Benjamin Franklin* (Philadelphia, 1923. Pp. 65) is a beautifully printed, elaborately illustrated brochure published in commemoration of the two hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Franklin in Philadelphia. The pictures were selected by Mr. Walter Rowlands of the Fine Arts Department of the Boston Public Library; the historical notes are compiled by Mr. Brad Stephens, and the printing was done by the latter's publishing house for the Dill and Collins Company, Paper Makers. There are about twenty reproductions of Franklin portraits, prints, and models, including those by Duplessis and Chamberlain. There are photographs of a number of medallions and French statuettes (1780) and of the Franklin memorials in the Capitol Building, in the cities of Washington, Chicago, New York, St. Louis, Waterbury, Philadelphia, and Boston and on the campus of the University of Pennsylvania. There are

prints of paintings by Howard Pyle, Robert Pine, Andre E. Jolly, West, Trumbull et al, of great historical events (as the Signing of the Peace of 1783, The Signing of the Declaration of Independence) in which Franklin played a leading part. In addition there are numerous prints of his papers, houses, chairs, desks, printing presses, and belongings. It is a splendid memorial volume which will please every lover of Franklin, the printer, bookseller, author, editor, inventor, philosopher, scientist, and statesman. And in each character is he pictorially seen.

*American Social History, as Recorded by British Travellers* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1923. Pp. 577) edited and compiled by Allan Nevins of the New York *Evening Post* is a curiously interesting book of readings which will serve as a ready source of collateral reading for college classes in our political and social history. For the period 1789—1825, Mr. Nevins has selections from such travellers and journalists as John Bernard, Wansey, Ashe, Melish, Fearon, Cobbett, and Hall, dealing with a score of phases of our national life. In the second period 1825-1840, the extracts are from the writings of Captain Basil Hall, Frances Trollope, Harriet Martineau, Fanny Kemble, Captain Marryat, Thomas Colley Grattan (consul at Boston), and Charles Dickens. The third period, 1840-1870, is illustrated by excerpts from Buckingham, Lyell, Mackay, William H. Russell, Dicey, and Anthony Trollope. For the years from 1870-1922, David Macrae, Freeman the historian, Herbert Spencer, Matthew Arnold, Muirhead, Steevens, Nevinson, and Bryce are drawn upon. From the hundreds of British travellers who have written their observations in book form, Mr. Nevins has wisely selected, and with equal skill he has culled from them extracts of general interest and worth. Here, he brought into play his journalistic sense.

Mr. Nevins is more than an editor; he knows the travellers and their works. For each period he has written a long introduction, the best criticism and appraisement of the travellers' accounts, of which the writer knows, together with a cleverly written sketch of America as seen through their combined experiences. The author appears exceedingly fair and tolerant, in no way ruffled by the hostile criticism or ridicule of his subjects, and in no sense anti-British. Some readers might expect the latter, knowing that he has a volume on America of the critical period from 1775 to 1789 published under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus Historical Commission. A good bibliography is appended with references to sources from which it might be indefinitely extended.

## NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

International Law, An Introduction to the History of. By Baron S. A. Korff. (*American Journal of International Law*, April).

Pre-History, Recent Developments in. By George G. MacCurdy. (*Scientific Monthly*, May).

Church History, An Apology for the Study of. By Rev. J. E. Wishart. (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, April).

Patriotism and History. By F. T. Spaulding. (*Education*, May).

History, Two Ways of. By G. G. Coulton. (*History*, April). Also Some Observations in Conclusion, by F. M. Powicke, to whose article in the January issue Mr. Coulton makes answer.

Military History, The Study of. By Maj. Charles A. King, Jr. (*Infantry Journal*, March).

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World Reconstruction, The Basis of. By H. T. Hodgkin. (*The Pilgrim*, April).

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Christian Social Movement in England, The. By Maurice B. Reckitt. (*The Journal of Religion*, March).

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Spiritual Drama in France, The. By William H. Scheifley. (*Ave Maria*, May).

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Blind Chances—or God? By A. L. Cortie, S.J., D.Sc., F.R.A.S. (*Catholic World*, May).

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# NOTES AND COMMENT

**Celebration of the "Anno Santo."**– On Christmas Eve of this year the celebration of the "Anno Santo" or "Holy Year," will begin at Rome and will be observed not only in the Eternal City, but also by the 273,000,000 members of the Catholic Church in all parts of the world.

It will be the twenty-second of the jubilees instituted by Pope Boniface VIII in 1300 with such success that, as Dante tells in his *Inferno*, a strong barrier had to be constructed along the bridge of the Holy Angles in order to keep the crowds flocking to St. Peter's from mingling with and obstructing those who were coming in a contrary direction. It is a matter of record that 2,000,000 foreigners visited Rome in connection with the celebration.

The "Holy Years" were continued at intervals of fifty and twenty-five years until 1775. Owing to the Napoleonic wars and the presence of a French army of invasion in Rome at the end of the eighteenth century the twentieth celebration was not held until 1825, during the Pontificate of Leo XII. In 1850 Pius IX had been obliged to flee from the Eternal City to the Neapolitan stronghold of Gaëta, while in 1875 he felt too keenly the recent loss of the temporal power of the Papacy to be inclined to do anything in the shape of public festivities.

In 1900, however, Leo XIII returned to the custom last observed by Leo XII in 1325, and arranged for the celebration of the twenty-first of these jubilees; and now Pius XI has announced that the next and twenty-second Holy Year is to receive its celebration throughout 1925, the observance beginning on the eve of Christmas 1924, with a solemn ceremony at St. Peter's at Rome.

Pius XI has determined to make this celebration memorable in the annals of the Church.

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**Church Latin: The Hebrew Analogy.**— Father W. H. Kent, O.S.C., under this caption in the *Tablet* says:

> When our Western liturgical language is described as "The Holy Latin Tongue," this naturally recalls the Rabbinical description of Hebrew as "Leshon Hakkadosh"—"the Holy Tongue." In this earlier example, indeed, it was hardly thought necessary to add the name itself; for it seemed sufficiently obvious to the Jewish writers who used this familiar phrase that it describes the language chosen as the channel of revelation and of divine worship. And Latin in like manner takes its title of pecular sanctity from its intimate association with the inspired Scriptures and liturgical services. For though none of the books of Scripture were originally written in Latin, it is the tongue in which they have most widely and most effectively fulfilled their purpose in association

with the highest and holiest form of divine worship. Another curious point of resemblance was brought out in the course of the early controversies between Catholics and Protestants. When the Reformers took exception to the liturgical use of a language "not understanded of the people," Catholic apologists very naturally recalled the primitive precedent of the second temple of Jerusalem and synagogue services after the return from Babylon. In their long captivity the great mass of the Jewish people had adopted another language. The Hebrew of their fathers was no longer vernacular; nor could they generally understand it without the help of an interpretation. None the less, in the temple and the synagogues the Scriptures were still read in the sacred tongue, though, for the benefit of those who had no Hebrew, the lessons were afterwards explained by an Aramaic version or paraphrase —just as the Epistle and Gospel are read out in the vernacular after having been sung in Latin.

But the ecclesiastical use of Latin was in no wise confined to the public services. Whatever might be the vernacular spoken by the people, Latin remains the language of Catholic theology and philosophy, of ecclesiastical laws and learning. And here, too, the Hebrew analogy holds good. In the schools of Babylon and Jerusalem the laws and the teaching laid down in the text of the Old Testament became the subject of traditional comments, and debates, and dissertations set forth in the multitudinous treatises of the Mishna, which form the groundwork of the Talmud. And the language of this learned Rabbinical literature was still Hebrew, but not the classic Hebrew of the Bible. In some respects this Mishnic Hebrew bears a curiously close resemblance to our scholastic Latin. It is a later form of the language, bearing tokens of change and decay, and new developments. Both in its vocabulary and in its grammatical structure it betrays the influence of the Aramaic vernacular, by which it was for a time to be supplanted, even in the schools. For the makers of the Mishna were succeeded by the doctors of the Gemara, who wrote their commentaries, or expansions, of the Mishnic text in Aramaic. These two strata, differing in age, in language, and in some other characteristics, make up the complex text of the Talmud. But in some important treatises the Mishna stands alone, and the student is apt to exclaim: Yes; we have no Gemara.

Throughout all these changes, it may be remarked, the classic Hebrew of the Bible was never for a moment neglected or forgotten. For though they may write their own work in Mishnic Hebrew or in Aramaic, or in a mixture of the two, the Jewish doctors of every age are familiar with the Sacred Text, and quote its words at every turn. And besides being read and understood, the older Hebrew was still cultivated as a literary language. Possibly because Aramaic was no longer the vernacular, its influence

on Hebrew style seems to have declined. And, in any case, later Rabbinical writers show a preference for what may be called the classic idiom, a tendency which may already be traced in some of the medieval masters.

It is here more especially that the Hebrew analogy may help us to understand the story of our ecclesiastical Latin. For this preservation of the primitive type in the midst of so many far-reaching changes, and this return to the cultivation of an earlier style, may be found in ecclesiastical Latin no less than in later Hebrew literature. As we have seen before now, there is a rich vein of true poetry in medieval hymns which in no wise conform to the laws of classical versification. And, from their own peculiar standpoint, some critics of a strait classic school have strangely misjudged the masterpiece of St. Augustine. If we looked only at these examples we might be tempted to think that classical and ecclesiastical Latin had little or nothing in common. But in doing this we are forgetting the wide range and almost infinite variety of our own Latin literature.

It is well to be reminded that here, as in the case of the Jewish literature, the old classic language was never wholly forgotten or neglected. It is true that the Latin classics did not have the sacred character of the first monuments of Hebrew literature. But it is the fact that they were still studied, while colloquial Latin was passing into the Romance languages and the new hymnody was being developed. Medieval devotion to Virgil was proverbial. And the origin of Roswitha's religous dramas affords a plain proof that Terence was read in the tenth century. Thus the old language was still known, though many were content to admire without imitation, and preferred, or found it easier, to conform to new fashions. But here, too, as in the case of Hebrew, there were some who took the old masters for their models. To take two examples from medieval England, John of Salisbury's treatises and letters are in excellent Latin prose. And his contemporary, Geoffrey de Vinsauf, was cultivating classical verse and setting forth its rules in metrical form. But the tendency which may be traced in some medieval writers naturally becomes more marked at a later period. The classic muse was cultivated with more success by such a master as the beatified Carmelite poet, Baptista Mantuanus, whose eclogues were read in English schools in the eighteenth century. And as the later Rabbis write a more classical and purer Hebrew than their predecessors, the style of such eminent post-Tridentine theologians as Petavius and Thomassinus shows a like tendency to follow the classic models.

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**L'Ecole des Chartes.**— An evidence of the movement which is guiding the intellectual youth of France toward a greater development of the spiritual life has been manifested in the characteristic action of the Ecole

des Chartes in creating a Catholic Alumni Association of the School, an association which has for its purpose the exchange of ideas on matters pertaining to religious and social action. The proposal to create such a group was made some time ago by the youngest class of students of the school, but was endorsed without hesitation by the students of the two higher classes. Two-thirds of the total number of students have registered with the new Catholic group.

The great interest of this initiative is not merely the number of members. The students of the Ecole des Chartes never number more than 60, that is to say 20 in each class, but they constitute an elite of the highest value.

The National School of Charts is the official institution which trains the conservators of the great national libraries, the archivists to whom are entrusted the vast wealth of documents which is massed in Paris and in the principal towns of the departments, the paleographists who search ancient manuscripts and translate the dialects of the Midle Ages. The Ecole des Chartes is the school of historians and archaeologists.

This school was founded in 1821 and the royal ordinance which established it stated particularly that this school was to continue the study and exploitation of the manuscripts and archives, the task formerly entrusted to the Congregation of Benedictines of Saint-Maur, whose center was the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près in Paris. In memory of this origin, the students of the school return in a body each year to attend a solemn requiem Mass which is celebrated in the church of Saint-Germain-des-Près for the souls of deceased archivists and paleographists. The director of the school, in the address which he made at the centennial celebration in 1921, recalled the ties which bind the Chartists to the religious archivists of other days: "The School," he said, "has fulfilled the mission which was assigned to it, the mission of restoring the method of the Benedictines and of basing history solely on the study of documents."

The Chartists who founded the new Catholic group first advised their instructors, out of deference, of their intention, and also discretely informed their fellow students of other faiths that they did not wish to cause any narrow discrimination nor alter the happy relations which existed between them. They merely wished to help each other in their normal life by discussing in common their religious aspirations.

On the first Saturday of each month the members of the group hear Mass in the old church of Saint-Severin, in the heart of the university quarter, where they listen to a brief exhortation. They also hold a monthly meeting followed by general discussion. The subject of the conference is generally some subject of religious history or apologetics.

In announcing the creation of the Association in the columns of the *Semaine Religieuse* of Paris, Canon Clement, Vicar General of Paris, who is himself a former student of the Ecole des Chartes, promised the members that they would receive a very special blessing from His Holiness Pope Pius XI, and pointed out that many of the old students had frequently had the honor of working with the present Pope and receiving his

advice when, as Msgr. Ratti, he visited the National Library in Paris or when they consulted him at the Ambrosiana in Milan or the Vatican Library in Rome.

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**Missionary Explorers.**— It is a great mistake to imagine that all the authentic records of the Land of Mystery are due to British enterprise. As the *Catholic Herald of India* points out, Mount Everest is found under its true Tibetan name "Tschomo-Lungma" on maps made from native materials by French Jesuits in Peking in 1717. These maps were later engraved in Paris, and published in 1733. Two Jesuits, Grueber and Albert d'Orville, left Peking in 1661, made their way through Tibet, and visited Lhasa, carrying scientific instruments with them. This was probably the first European expedition to Tibet, and accounts of their journey have been preserved in A. Kirchner's "China Illustrated."

In 1703 six Capuchin Fathers left Rome for Lhasa, where they arrived in 1707, and were later reinforced by other missionaries. Shortly after two Jesuits, Fathers Desideri and Freyre, reached Lhasa, and the account of their journey was published in 1904 by the Geographical Society in Rome. Again in 1738 the Capuchin Father, Orazio della Penna, started from Rome with eleven fathers and reached Lhasa in 1741, passing through Tingri and Schikar. To quote the *Catholic Herald*, "a common fault with modern explorers is that they know their geography better than their history," and so they easily deceive themselves that they are opening up new ground, whereas they are merely following in the footsteps of the real pioneers. Our gratitude to contemporary explorers is not lessened by a due recognition of what we owe to the early missionaries who, under far less favourable conditions, penetrated into those almost inaccessible regions and have left us the record of their travels and labours.

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**The Pontifical Academy of Science.**—The Casina of Pius IV in the Vatican gardens has been transferred by Pope Pius XI to the Pontifical Academy of Science. It will be a headquarters for the institute which for centuries has been identified with research work under Papal auspices. The transfer was made with simple ceremonies, but with many evidences of the desire of His Holiness to assist in every way a work which is known to scientists of many nations.

Pius IV, the Pope of the Milanese branch of the Medici family, had this Casina built by the celebrated architect Pirro Ligorio in 1560, as a place of repose and as a summer residence of the Popes. But the locality, too low and suffocating in summer, was not adapted for this purpose, and so the little palace has lain abandoned for time immemorable. In the largest interior salon there was once placed the volumes of the collective addresses which arrived at the Holy See of Christianity. But even these were transported some years ago to the Vatican library and the Casina of Pius IV remained unused and deserted.

Pius XI, as is known, never omits His daily walk in the Vatican gardens, and from the first months of His pontificate thought of using a place

so important for its historical memories and artistic beauty. He first had some necessary restorations made to repair the damage that time had produced in the building and then thought this could be put to no better use than to be made the seat of the illustrious scientific institute of the Accademia dei Nuovi Lincei.

The history of this academy goes as far back as 1603. In that year the young Roman prince, Federico Cesi, a famous philosopher and naturalist founded the Accademia dei Lincei in his palace. The name is derived from Lince (lynx) the animal which has the greatest accuracy of sight, so it was taken as a symbol to indicate the profundity and keen vision with which the academicians must pursue their studies.

The academy had a very restricted number of members all chosen from the most illustrious students of science. One of the most illustrious was Galileo Galilei who was admitted in 1611 and who gained a great part of his scientific knowiedge in this institution. The academy, however, died with the death of its founder in 1630. For more than two centuries various attempts were made to resuscitate it but none of them succeeded for long, until a new and stable life was given it by Pius IX in 1847. That Pope gave the resuscitated assembly the title of "Pontificia Academia dei Nuovi Lincei." He endowed it and assigned it suitable quarters in the palace of the Campidoglio.

But a new crisis intervened in 1870. In that year after the taking of Rome, the commissioners of the Italian government communicated to the secretary of the academy that the government intended to continue and supply the donation and therefore the academy must change the title of pontifical to royal. The secretary, of his own will accepted this decree without consulting the membership. But the members who approved of his action were only seven. The others, more than 20, decided to continue their activity even without the former donation and therefore they had to leave the seat at the Campidoglio taking a new one at first in the palace of the Propaganda Fide, then in that of the Cancelleria. While they thus continued without interruption the life of the Pontifical Academy of the Nuovi Lincei, the members, in order to distinguish themselves took the old name of Lincei dating their beginning from 1603, the year of the first foundation.

To the inevitable differences and contrasts of its first years has now succeeded however the most perfect harmony and cordiality between the two scientific societies.

Leo XIII greatly favored the academy. He reformed the statutes bringing the number of the ordinary members from 30 to 40, and he ordered that the scientific contributions which are presented to the academy by the erudite of every country should be published at his expense. This superb collection has already completed its first series in 32 volumes and is at the sixth volume of the second series. The academy consists of 32 ordinary members and 72 correspondents in various countries and exchanges publications with 194 institutes and scientific academies. Among its honorary members is Dr. Hyvernat of the Catholic University of

America; among the ordinary members is Father Hagen, director of the Vatican observatory and among its correspondents are Father Algue of the Central Observatory of Manila (Philippine Islands).

The scientific bodies of the United States with which publications are exchanged include the Johns Hopkins University of Baltimore, American Academy of Arts and Sciences of Boston, Harvard College Observatory of Cambridge, Cincinnati Observatory, Cincinnati University, Lloyd Library of Botany, Pharmacy and Medicine of Cincinnati, Colorado College, Ohio State University of Columbus, Institute of Science of Halifax, Indiana Academy of Science, University of Kansas (Lawrence), Wisconsin Academy of Sciences of Madison, University of Wisconsin, Geological and Natural History Survey of Madison, Connecticut Academy of Art and Sciences, New Haven; American Mathematical Society of New York, Public Library (Astor Lenox and Tilden foundations) of New York, the American Midland Naturalist, Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, Missouri Botanical Garden (St. Louis), Kansas Academy of Sciences (Topeka), University of Illinois, Natural Academy of Sciences of Washington, Smithsonian Institute of Washington, Department of Agriculture, Weather Bureau and Navy Observatory of Washington.

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**The "Christians of St. Thomas."**—The *Universe* (London) recently published a paper on this subject which an Indian Scholar, Mr. P. J. Thoma, M.A., B.Litt. (Oxon.) read before the Royal Asiatic Society at their centenary meeting:

> Addressing a meeting of eminent Orientalists, Mr. Thoma pointed out that the scepticism among Western scholars on the Indian Mission of St. Thomas was due to various misconceptions. The Early Fathers, both Eastern and Western, never doubted that the Apostle preached and died in India; but modern writers questioned whether the India mentioned by them is the same country as is so known to modern geography. On the authority of Pliny and other Græco-Roman geographers of the first two centuries of the Christian era, the lecturer showed that these geographical doubts were misplaced. India was then fairly well known in Egypt and Western Asia. Again, European scholars, in studying the subject seldom went beyond Syriac writings; and yet the earliest accounts of South Indian Christianity are to be found not in Syriac, but in the ancient Tamil songs. They have neglected the more important sources of South Indian tradition. It is to this quarter that we must look for fresh light.
>
> Mr. Thoma then gave an illuminating account of the literary tradition as it is preserved in Malabar, especially among the "Christians of St. Thomas," now called "Syrians." It is contained in various poetical works like *Thoma Parvam* and ancient songs like *Margam Kali Pattu*. At the seven centres where St. Thomas is

said to have converted Brahmins and built places of worship, there are still found remains of ancient Hindu temples and homes. There are also many other places in Malabar associated with the itinerary of St. Thomas. Nor is this tradition confined to Christians. The Brahmin historical work *Keralolpatti* gives a version of the Apostle's work, which may serve as confirmation of the Christian account from an independent source. The King Bana Perumal, in whose reign these events took place, is usually dated by scholars about 50 A. D. to 80 A. D.

Mailapur (near Madras) and the neighbouring places are intimately associated with the last days of St. Thomas, and has always been regarded so by the people around. The remains of St. Thomas are said to have been removed to Edessa (in Mesopotamia) in the third century, but the open tomb still remained, and was venerated by people of all creeds. Persian Christians knew of it at least from the sixth century, and they built a monastery there. Early Muhammadan travelers called it "Beth Thoma" (=House of Thomas), and this name is still in use in its Portuguese form, San Thomé. The beautiful Anglo-Saxon legend (preserved in the chronicle) that King Alfred sent offerings to the shrine of St. Thomas in India cannot be easily explained. The neighboring hills, St. Thomas Mount and Little Mount, are all associated with the Apostle's doings. There is a heavy burden of proof on those who undertake to disprove this tradition.

Mr. Thomas also gave a noteworthy explanation of the Gondophares legend. The *Acta Thomae* connects an Indian King Gunnaphar with the name of St. Thomas. Some decades ago, when coins and other monuments of an Indo-Parthian King "Gadaphara" were found in the Kabul region, scholars rushed headlong to identify him with the Gudnaphar of the Acta. Etymology apart, said the lecturer, there is nothing to support this identification. The "Gudnaphar" of the Acta is very likely a certain King of Mailaphar, *Kandapper*, who is associated with the Apostle in South Indian legend.

The Brahmin tradition of the East Coast has it that the Apostle converted this king; and there is still preserved a stone slab with the sculptured head of St. Thomas on one side and that of Kandappar on the other. The author of the *Acta*, who lived in Edessa in the third or fourth century A. D., must have got the story of St. Thomas from South Indian traders. From this he composed that classical Syriac work. The usually accepted "Gondophares" theory will have to be given up. In conclusion, Mr. Thoma appealed for a detailed study of the traditions and monumental remains of South India.

Those interested in this discussion will find a brief but scholarly treatment of the subject in Bishop Shahan's *The Middle Ages*, pp. 231 ff.

**Was Herodotus Subsidized?**—*America* (Vol. xxx No. 20) says:

> That Herodotus, the Father of History, was subsidized by an Athenian leather merchant is the opinion of the Munich Academy, which has constituted itself an investigating committee into the charges brought against the old Greek by his fellow historian, Plutarch. The Hungarian savant, Julius Schwartz, had previously held that this indictment was supported by documentary evidence. Herodotus is said to have received the equivalent of about $14,000, on the understanding that nothing unfavorable to Athens should ever be mentioned by him, but only whatever could redound to her glory. We have long ago heard it said that Caesar's history was mainly a political campaign document to create a favorable impression in Rome. Whatever may be the full truth about Herodotus we are all aware that outside of the Sacred Scriptures there is little history, if any, in which we can place implicit confidence, even when there is no question of a deliberate "conspiracy against the truth," or of a Barnum-like exploit such as that perpetrated by the omniscient Wells.

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**Literary Curiosities in the Library of Congress.**— The smallest book in the world, the longest printed work in the world and the largest book in America, respectively—are in the Library of Congress in Washington.

The smallest book is a copy of the *Rubaiyat* of *Omar Khayyam*. The longest work is the *T'u Shu* (*Chinese Encyclopedia*). The largest book is John James' Audobon's *Birds of America*.

The midget Rubiayat is only three-eights of an inch long, three-eights of an inch wide and one-eighth of an inch thick.

Letters in the book, even those on the title page, are so tiny that they can be read only with the aid of a very powerful magnifying glass. The book's forty-eight pages of thin Japan paper are stitched daintily together and bound in green paper.

The minuteness was made possible by photographic reduction of a larger copy of the Rubaiyat. The miniature was acquired by the Library of Congress in 1900. It is displayed, under glass, in the front of the library's second floor.

Printing of the mammoth T'u Shu Chinese encyclopedia has been called "the greatest typographical feat the world has ever seen."

Three years were required to print its 5,280 volumes with their 800,000 pages. These pages hold from 100,000,000 to 140,000,000 Chinese characters, scholars estimate. The table of contents alone is forty volumes.

The encyclopedia fills 250 feet of shelf space in the library. If these rows of books were joined into a single shelf and that shelf stood on end it would tower almost half as high as the Washington Monument. The encyclopedia's 5,280 volumes, each a fraction of an inch less than one foot long, laid top of one to bottom of next, would form a path of literature from the Capitol to the Treasury.

Some aged Chinese students have read the entire work once, read it half through again and memorized several volumes, library attendants said.

The library's copy of the *T'u Shu* was given to the United States by the Emperor of China in 1908. It was printed in Shanghai.

The giant of American bookdom, Audobon's *Birds of America*, is forty inches long, twenty-six and one-half inches wide and two and one-fourth inches thick. So large are its pages that on one of them a turkey is reproduced life size. There are 435 similar, vividly colored engravings in four equally large volumes and the Library of Congress has the entire set.

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**L'Histoire Expurgée.**— Our Canadian neighbors are having a lively time over the action of the Rev. Dr. Cody, of Toronto University who wishes to have Longfellow's "Evangeline" removed from Canadian textbooks. The *Action Catholique* of Quebec says:

> Il y a quelque temps une dépêche annonçait le Rev. Dr. Cody de Toronto, président des gouveneurs de l'univesité de Toronto, demandait qu'on supprimât des livres de classe le poème de Longfello et, surtout, l'odieux épisode historique qu'il a rendu immortel.
>
> C'est une page d'histoire qui rend odieux le nom anglais, prétend le Dr. Cody. Il a parfaitement raison, est-ce en laissant ignorer aux enfants un des faits les plus saillants de l'histoire des Anglais en Amérique qu'on supprimera cette page? Les Anglais en resteront ils moins responsables devant l'univers?
>
> Ne vaudrait-il pas mieux que cette leçon enseignée partout, pour apprendre aux générations que l'on ne viole pas impunément la justice et l'humanité, même quand on est Anglais?
>
> Le *Gaelic American* commente en ces termes la suggestion du Dr. Cody:
>
> Le récent incident de Toronto, qui demande la suppression d'une certaine partie de l'Histoire du Canada, n'est après tout qu'une partie de la campagne continue contre les faits historiques qui déprécient l'Angleterre, laquelle campagne se poursuit depuis très longtemps. Si on lit l'histoire d'Angleterre, l'on verra des evènements relatés, du même caractére que celui d'Evangéline et de Grand Pré. L'Irlande eut plusieurs de ces déportations; la présence d'un grand élément écossais au Canada est due, à l'exception des commerçants de la Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson et des soldats de Wolfe, après la conquéte, largement au Massacre de Glencoe en 1692 et aux Highland Clearances au milieu du dix-huitième siècle.
>
> Même si l'Evangéline et l'histoire de Grand Pré sont éliminées de l'histoire du Canada, ces faits, tout comme les massacres de l'Irlande, le massacre de Glencoe en Ecosse, le massacre de

Amritsar dans l'Inde, celui de Bondells dans l'Amérique du Sud et les autres au Thibet, Afghanistan, l'Egypte et a Mésopotamie, resteront dans le livre des souvenances contre l'Angleterre quand cet Empire sera apellé au jugement.

Et le *Madawaska* qui a des raisons speciales de vouloir que tout le peuple canadien sache bien ce que los Anglais ont fait aux Acadiens approuve hautement le *Gaelic American* de New York:

Bravo, confrére américan! Il nous fait plaisir de constater que vous vous intéressez à nous.

Il serait trop long de reproduire toutes les critiques du Président de l'Unversité de Toronto et de quelques-uns des professeurs sur "Evangéline." Cependant voici les trois principaux points du Dr. Cody sur lesquels repose ses recommendations: 1, que les acadiens furent déloyaux, refusérent de recevoir les nombreux conseils et avis, et abusèrent de l'INDULGENCE du gouvernement britannique; 2, que le poême exagère la cruauté de la déportation; 3, que la déportation n'a été décidée que sur les instances des "New Englanders," et qu'elle fut conduite d'après les ordres de John Winslow de Boston.

L'on a même attaqué la réputation du poême "Evangeline." Certains en ont critiqué les "hexamètres ennuyeux" (suivant l'expression employée). W.-J. Alexander professeur de langue anglaise a l'Université de Toronto déclare qu'il ne considère pas le poême comme de la bonne littérature.

Le trouble qui existe chez la plupart de ces critiques c'est qu'il n'ont pas un coeur assez tendre pour comprendre la noblesse avec laquelle le poète raconte les tristes faits.

Nous croyons qu'aucune explication n'est nécessaire aux lignes que nous venons de rapporter. Qu'il nous suffise de constater encore une fois de plus jusqu'ou peut se rendre l'audace anglo-saxone.

A quand la disparition de la defaite de Montcalm dans l'histoire Canadienne?

Hélas, il ne suffit pas de fermer les yeux pour faire disparaitre une laideur et si les autorités réussissaient à supprimer des livres de classe cette page d'histoire, les ossements des malheureux déportés sortiraient de leur tombe pour crier au monde l'hypocrisie des descendants de ceux qui ont été si cruels et si barbares.

# BOOKS RECEIVED

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